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INTERNATIONAL

Herald Tribune

Published with The New York Times and The Washington Post

PARIS, MONDAY, JUNE 24, 1974

Established 1887

TODAY'S WEATHER FORECAST - PARIS: Cloudy, stormy, temp. 19-25 (66-77). Tomorrow's temp. 21-25 (70-77). Wednesday's temp. 23-28 (73-82). LONDON: Stormy, temp. 19-22 (66-72). Tomorrow's temp. 21-25 (70-77). Wednesday's temp. 23-28 (73-82). CHICAGO: Moderate, temp. 20-28 (68-82). Tomorrow's temp. 21-25 (70-77). Wednesday's temp. 23-28 (73-82). NEW YORK: Cloudy, temp. 20-28 (68-82). Tomorrow's temp. 21-25 (70-77). Wednesday's temp. 23-28 (73-82).

No. 28,440



Foreign Minister Rudolf Kirchschlaeger, the Socialist-backed candidate for president, and his wife greet officials at Vienna polling station yesterday while casting their ballots.

Socialist Is Elected President Of Austria

VIENNA, June 23 (Reuters).—Foreign Minister Rudolf Kirchschlaeger was elected President of Austria tonight, maintaining the Socialist party's unbroken hold on the office since World War II.

The Socialist candidate won 2,292,151 votes, or 51.66 percent of the total, to 2,236,480 votes (49.34 percent) for the conservative People's party nominee, Alois Lagger, mayor of Innsbruck. Mr. Kirchschlaeger's victory became certain when he took nearly 64 percent of the votes in Vienna, a Socialist stronghold whose voters comprise nearly one-quarter of the electorate.

Mr. Kirchschlaeger will be sworn in later this week. Socialist party officials said he would be replaced as foreign minister by Peter Jankowitsch, 38, Austria's UN representative.

Austrian presidents have been directly elected since 1951 but have virtually no political power. Mr. Kirchschlaeger, 59, is not a party member but has served in Chancellor Bruno Kreisky's Socialist government as foreign minister for four years.

He was the personal choice of Mr. Kreisky for the party's candidacy—against the advice of other party leaders—after the death of President Franz Jonas from cancer in April.

His lack of Socialist ties threatened to boom during the election campaign when it emerged that the foreign minister had joined the People's party, the Socialists' main opponents, for a brief period after World War II.

He gained a law degree in 1940, despite difficulties when he refused to join the Nazi party after the Anschluss of 1938. He was called up into the German Army and wounded. After the war he resumed his legal career.

He became one of the Foreign Ministry's legal experts and helped in the negotiations that led to the Austrian state treaty of 1955. In 1963, he was picked by Mr. Kreisky, then foreign minister, to head his personal office.

Four years later he became head of the Austrian Legation in Prague, and, in 1968, when Warsaw Pact tanks rolled into Czechoslovakia, he defied his own Foreign Ministry by continuing to issue visas to Czechoslovak refugees.

Isaiah Show Concern

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Top Israeli, Egyptian, Syrian and Jordanian officials are to visit Washington in coming months to discuss relations with the United States, the kind of settlement they envisage and the role the Palestinians should play in it.

American officials who accompanied Mr. Nixon on his trip made the following points:

- The trip underscores the decline in Soviet influence in the Middle East, particularly in Egypt, and presents Mr. Nixon a problem when he discusses the Middle East in Moscow during his visit beginning Thursday. He must seek continuing Soviet support for a Middle East settlement and not give the impression that the United States is making gains at Soviet expense.
- The warm reception given Mr. Nixon in the four Arab capitals (Continued on Page 2, Col. 6)



Portuguese Foreign Minister Mario Soares (center) and aide, Manuel da Machado, speak to newsmen after a meeting with UN Secretary General Kurt Waldheim.

In Portugal's Political Rebuilding Communists Seeking Local Power

By Henry Giniger

LISBON, June 23 (NYT).—A purge of municipal councils associated with the ousted dictatorship is giving the Portuguese Communist party one of its best opportunities yet to establish a local power base.

The purge is under the direction of Joaquim Magalhães Motta, the anti-Marxist minister of the interior, who said in an interview last week that the country's political future was at stake at the local level, and that Portugal's first elections since the coup would probably be held in about three months—for new local councils.

Meanwhile, administrative committees are being organized to fill in. The Communists want to gain control of these and of 400 smaller, district units.

The party appears to be operating on two levels, openly and officially and semiclandestinely. On the official level, two members are ministers of the provisional government. Also on that level, the Central Committee of the party issued a declaration on the strategy of total support for the government and for the armed-forces movement that overthrew the dictatorship in April.

The armed forces have pledged with the government to establish a democratic political system at the national level in a year, and the Communists are backing this goal.

Because of this commitment, the party has taken stands against strikes as beneficial to counter-revolutionaries. This has aroused the enmity of some workers, who have called the Communists traitors to the working class.

The party is also operating at the more covert level, much as it did for almost 50 years. During those years, unlike other political groups, it was able to maintain some cohesive structure, mostly because it was the only such group willing to take the risk and the only one endowed with sufficient discipline, according to political experts here. It was also believed to have received outside aid through international connections that other parties did not have.

The Communists gradually gained a commanding position in the unions. They also moved into those opposition political groupings that were permitted. Such groupings were allowed to emerge for a few weeks at election time, then were officially disbanded. The so-called Democratic Electoral Commission thus united most of the leftist opposition in the elections held last October under the old government.

Just after the coup, that commission transformed itself into the Portuguese Democratic Movement. At the same time, its components officially established themselves as parties, notably the Communists and Socialists.

Non-Marxist Criticism

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Popular Democratic party, said the Democratic Movement now had no plausible reason to exist and that it was in reality "a cover for the Communists."

A spokesman for the movement acknowledged that the Communists dominated it. He said it was going on, however, because, "after so many years of dictatorship, the Portuguese people are not politically aware and are as yet unable to choose between one party and another."

Shortly after the coup, the movement began to provoke popular demonstrations in front of town halls. In summary elections, the old councils were thrown out and new ones seated. Mr. Motta said that he had approved 80 such substitutions, but acknowledged that the movement—and consequently the Communists—dominated most of them. Applications are pending for the approval of 94 others proposed by the movement.

Both the Socialists and the center-left group acknowledge that the Communists have a head start. The interior minister said his party had been received well at the local level, among people who are basically anti-Communist. But in the industrial zones around Lisbon and Oporto the Communists have become solidly entrenched, as they have in rural areas in the south.

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British Soldier Is Charged In Death of Ulster Civilian

BELFAST, June 23 (AP).—A teen-aged British soldier was charged today with murdering a civilian, one of three persons to die in a fresh outbreak of violence in Northern Ireland.

The British Army earlier had said the victim, Hugh Devine, 33, was killed in a scuffle with security forces in Strabane, County Tyrone, just before midnight yesterday when a rifle was fired, "apparently accidentally."

No details of the incident were given in court. Alec John Fury, 19, a trooper in the Life Guards, was formally charged with murder and kept in custody.

The deaths of the two other victims, a police sergeant and a British soldier, put the toll in Northern Ireland's five years of sectarian warfare at 1,036.

Sniper Shoots Soldier

The policeman was gunned down by a burst of automatic fire from a passing car in the Crumlin Road area of Belfast. The soldier was hit by sniper fire in the city's New Lodge Road area.

Authorities said they suspected that the Irish Republican Army was responsible for both killings. An Army spokesman said he

Portugal Adheres to UN Views On Africa

UNITED NATIONS, N.Y., June 23 (AP).—Portuguese Foreign Minister Mario Soares told Secretary-General Kurt Waldheim yesterday that the policy of Portugal's new government was to carry out UN resolutions that call for independence for its African territories.

The two men had a two-hour conference at Mr. Waldheim's New York town house and Mr. Soares said to a reporter afterward, "We respect the principle of self-determination with all its consequences, including national independence."

"We agree," he added, "with all the recommendations and resolutions of the United Nations."

Situation Explained

A UN spokesman said Mr. Soares informed the secretary-general of "the situation in the Portuguese territories" and assured him "that his government's policy was to implement fully UN resolutions in regard to the territories."

The spokesman reported that Mr. Soares invited Mr. Waldheim to visit Lisbon and Mr. Waldheim accepted, leaving the date to be set later.

Mr. Soares, speaking French, told the reporter he had a "long and pleasant conversation" and "gave him (Mr. Waldheim) a general explanation about the problems we face in Portugal and in the colonies." He added, "I came especially to see him."

The meeting was Mr. Waldheim's first with any cabinet official of the Portuguese government under President Antonio de Spínola, the general who led the military coup against Premier Marcello Caetano April 25 and who abandoned Portugal's opposition to self-determination for its African territories.

Portugal has fought rebellions in all three territories and for decades has been the target of anti-colonial resolutions. General Spínola recognized the independence of Portuguese Guinea, called Guinea-Bissau, and demanded Portugal's withdrawal from Angola and Mozambique.

But since Gen. Spínola took over, African diplomats have emphasized instead 1972 assembly resolutions that call for Portugal to negotiate with liberation movements for a transfer of power.

Gen. Spínola is on record as favoring a vote by the people in the territories on their future governments. Mr. Soares declined to answer when asked if the policy was to hold a referendum in each case or simply to hand over the territory to the local liberation movement.

Kissinger Denies Secret Deal Altered '72 Big-2 Arms Pact

By Murrey Marder

WASHINGTON, June 23 (WP).—Secretary of State Henry Kissinger denied yesterday that he made any "secret deal" to let the Soviet Union exceed the limits on nuclear missiles in the 1973 U.S.-Soviet accord on curbing strategic weapons.

"It is regrettable that this false suspicion has been raised just before the President's trip to the

Soviet Union," a State Department spokesman said. The secret deal charge was described as "totally without merit or any foundation whatsoever."

Through the department spokesman, Mr. Kissinger was rebutting charges made by Sen. Henry Jackson, D-Wash., an influential member of the Senate Armed Services Committee.

Sen. Jackson said Friday that he had heard testimony that secret U.S.-Soviet "interpretations" allow the Russians to go beyond the 950 undersea missiles to which they were limited, according to a report to Congress in 1972. Mr. Kissinger initially described Sen. Jackson's information as a "misapprehension" of what actually happened.

The strongly worded exchange represents an escalation of the debate over whether President Nixon should be going to the Soviet Union this week for Moscow summit talks that will include sensitive nuclear issues while an impeachment threat hangs over him. Sen. Jackson has taken a lead in charging that the President could be lured into hazardous "quick-fix" nuclear deals at the conference.

Policy Gap

It was learned yesterday that Mr. Nixon and Mr. Kissinger, who will leave Washington on Tuesday, are heading for Moscow without a unified government-wide position on the next stage of strategic arms limitation.

Mr. Kissinger had breakfast yesterday with Defense Secretary James Schlesinger while the President, who was at Camp David, Md., for the weekend, talked by telephone with Mr. Kissinger and other officials.

There is an agreed administration position on negotiating with the Russians a partial ban on un-

To Allow Time for Consultations Mideast Talks Put Off Until Fall

WASHINGTON, June 23 (NYT).—The United States, Israel and the Arab nations have agreed to put off until the late fall any further Arab-Israeli negotiations for a Middle East peace settlement, American officials said Friday.

Commenting on President Nixon's tour of the Middle East, a senior official said that all sides had decided that there would be a cooling-off period to allow consultations among the Arabs and between the United States and both the Arabs and Israelis before seeking any further agreements.

It is now contemplated, he said, that the Middle East peace conference in Geneva will probably reconvene in October for the next stage in the negotiations.

Assessing the Nixon trip, officials and diplomats agreed that the most controversial commitment made by the United States was to supply Egypt with a nuclear reactor for peaceful purposes and a matching commitment for Israel.

A delegation from Egypt's Atomic Energy Commission is to begin negotiations for the purchase of enriched uranium for the reactor, according to the 1969

This underscored the desire by Cairo and Washington to move ahead quickly in negotiating a nuclear arrangement. The agreement will have to be approved by Congress, which wants to make sure of safeguards that Egypt will be unable to use the aid to produce nuclear weapons.

But other aspects of Mr. Nixon's trip were more important, officials said. They said that because of the trip the United States had become even more deeply involved in the politics and economics of the Middle East.

This will undoubtedly have the effect of raising expectations among the Arabs that the United States will help them recover all the land captured by Israel in 1967 and will help in rapidly improving their economies—both of which the United States may be unable to do.

Moreover, American officials acknowledged that, despite strong commitments made to Israel, the Israelis were already showing concern over the improved American relations with the Arabs.

The suddenly increased American commitment in the area, the officials said, could be a positive development or it could lead to another swirl of anti-Americanism if the United States does not live up to Arab expectations.

Top Israeli, Egyptian, Syrian and Jordanian officials are to visit Washington in coming months to discuss relations with the United States, the kind of settlement they envisage and the role the Palestinians should play in it.

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U.S. Assures Israel It Plans No Arms Sale to Egypt, Syria

By Bernard Gwertzman

WASHINGTON, June 23 (NYT).—The United States told Israel Friday that it has no plans to sell arms to Egypt or Syria, State Department officials and diplomats said yesterday.

The officials said Secretary of State Henry Kissinger conveyed the assurances in the course of a one-hour meeting at the State Department with Simcha Dinits, Israel's ambassador to the United States.

Mr. Dinits had told Mr. Kissinger of growing apprehension in the Israeli press recently about two developments in Egyptian-American relations: the decision by the United States to negotiate the sale of a nuclear power reactor to Egypt for use in the 1980s and the disclosure earlier in the week that a team of American military officers was going to Egypt at the invitation of the Egyptian defense ministry.

The United States—which also signed a similar nuclear arrangement with Israel during President Nixon's recent trip—has assured the Israelis that the safeguards in the nuclear power reactor will be so severe as to make it impossible to convert the plant to the production of atomic weapons.

The Pentagon and the State Department also said earlier in the week that the military mission was not empowered to negotiate sales of military equipment, but the Israeli press speculated that it was a forerunner of such a sales team, given Egypt's announced decision to seek alternate sources of military equipment other than the Soviet Union.

Mr. Kissinger, in a statement made public by his aides, sought to ease the Israeli concern by asserting that no sale of arms was contemplated to either Egypt or Syria.

The secretary of state also said that the United States would not

be sending a military mission that has anything to do with arms to Egypt.

Mr. Kissinger was known to be sensitive to the delicate political situation of the Israeli government of Premier Yitzhak Rabin and decided to help it out by issuing the reassuring statements.

On the other hand, the Nixon administration also made it clear to Israel that it was growing apprehensive about the continuing air attacks against Palestinian camps in Lebanon in retaliation for terrorist raids into Israel from that country.

Alfred Atherton, the assistant secretary of state for Near Eastern affairs, telephoned Mr. Dinits Friday morning to express the American concern with the raids. This was the first official American communication to Israel on the matter, American officials said.

Mr. Atherton also telephoned the Lebanese ambassador to urge restraint of the terrorists.

What concerns the administration is that the continuing air strikes might provoke Syria to break off implementation of the recently concluded troop separation agreement with Israel and come to Lebanon's assistance.

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Giscard and Schmidt Meet in Bonn July 8

PARIS, June 23 (UPI).—President Valéry Giscard d'Estaing, accompanied by several cabinet ministers, will meet Chancellor Helmut Schmidt in Bonn July 8-9 for the semiannual Franco-German summit meeting, it was announced here.

Monetary, economic and European unification policies will be high on the agenda of the Bonn talks, government officials said. The two leaders are also certain to review the international situation, including the results of President Nixon's visit in Moscow, officials said.

Israeli Ground Attack on Lebanon Feared

By Henry Tanner

CAIRO, June 23 (NYT).—Four days after President Nixon's triumphal peace tour, Arab diplomats and officials here expressed concern yesterday that Israel might send troops into southern Lebanon in the wake of Israeli air strikes against Palestinian bases.

President Anwar Sadat appeared to Mr. Nixon Friday in a personal message to use U.S. influence to stop the air strikes. According to diplomatic sources, he told Mr. Nixon that the strikes were a threat to the entire U.S. peace initiative.

Some officials say the attacks, which have been described by the Israelis as pre-emptive, are an effort to disrupt the process for negotiating peace that was set in motion by Secretary of State Henry Kissinger.

Many Arab diplomats and some Western envoys are convinced that Israel is considering an incursion into Southern Lebanon.

The Israeli strategy, according to some Arab analysts, would be

to let Mr. Kissinger bring about a Lebanese-Israeli agreement setting up a United Nations buffer zone that would seal the Lebanese border as effectively against the guerrillas as the Syrian and Egyptian borders are now sealed.

Israeli Defense Minister Shimon Peres called on Lebanon Friday to seal its border with Israel. Mr. Peres charged that the Lebanese government was permitting the Palestinians to "violate Lebanese sovereignty."

The implication, it is said here, is that if Lebanon does not act, Israel may not feel bound to respect Lebanese sovereignty that had already been violated by others.

Beirut Weighs Action

BEIRUT, June 23 (NYT).—Israeli warnings to Lebanon and counterwarnings by the Arab states and Palestinian guerrillas in the wake of the air strikes have increased tension here.

Premier Takiyeddin Solh said his government was considering calling the UN Security Council into emergency session.

French-Speaking Swiss Jura Votes to Set Up Own Canton

DELEMONT, Switzerland, June 23 (AP).—Switzerland's Jura region bordering France narrowly voted today to set up a new canton within the Swiss Confederation through secession from the mainly German-speaking canton of Bern.

In a plebiscite designed to solve the multilingual country's most delicate minority problem, a large secessionist vote in three of the seven Jura districts decided the outcome. Four other districts, including almost all French speakers, came out against separation from Bern.

The vote was the first of a series of steps expected to lead in about three years to the creation of a Canton and Republic of Jura. It would be Switzerland's 23d canton and the sixth with a French-language majority.

The secessionist movement gained momentum after 1947 when a Jura official was harassed from a top Bern government post because of his French language. The stronghold of the separatist movement has been traditionally in the north of the region, Delemont, its headquarters, is expected to become the future canton's capital.

The canton's size and population will be determined after at least three more referendums. The four districts of the Jura which favor continued attachment to Bern now have six months to seek a vote on their ultimate status inside or outside the new canton. The likely outcome is a split of the region with a population of 140,000, already divided by different religious affiliations.

The ultimate decision is to be made by all Swiss voters—80 percent of them German speakers—because redrawing of state borders requires an amendment of the federal constitution. Secessionist leaders have already expressed confidence that a majority will approve the change.

Libya Backs Palestinians

BEIRUT, June 23 (UPI).—Libya today placed all its resources at the disposal of the Palestinian leadership to resist Israeli air attacks, Col. Moamer Qadhafi said.

In a cable to guerrilla chief Yasser Arafat, Col. Qadhafi said the attacks were the direct outcome of the military disengagement agreements Egypt and Syria concluded with Israel.

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Accuse S. Vietnam, U.S.

Communists Again Quit Peace Talks in Saigon

SAIGON, June 23 (AP).—The Communists today suspended their participation in military talks with South Vietnam and the United States. They said that Saigon and Washington have not shown a serious attitude in the negotiations and continue to intensify the war.

The talks are aimed at achieving a true cease-fire and renewing a search for about 1,100 missing GIs.

It was the second time since May 10 that North Vietnam and the Viet Cong suspended their participation in the talks, which have made minimal progress in the nearly 17 months since the signing of the Paris agreement, which was supposed to have ended the war.

Propaganda Charged

A Viet Cong statement indicated that two main reasons for the suspension were the sinking of a North Vietnamese cargo vessel by South Vietnamese forces Thursday and a statement last week by the U.S. Embassy.

The U.S. Embassy said North Vietnam and the Viet Cong were trying to promote propaganda

and prevent real progress in the joint military team, which is charged with arranging for the search for the GIs missing in action and about 1,200 dead whose bodies have not been recovered.

The Viet Cong statement accused the United States of "grossly slandering" its Provisional Revolutionary Government and also the government of North Vietnam.

"Particularly serious is that the South Vietnamese have openly encroached upon the territorial waters of the Provisional Revolutionary Government and sunk a cargo vessel of the Democratic Republic of Vietnam which was on a mission of civilian supply to the South Vietnamese people in the Cua Viet area."

The statement also said the Communist delegations "will return to the conference table when the United States and the Nguyen Van Thieu administration have ended all their acts of sabotage of the negotiations, committed themselves to guarantee all the privileges and immunities... adopted a serious and correct attitude in negotiations at the joint military organizations as well as the Paris conference..."

Paris Talks Suspended

The talks in Paris, aimed at settling the internal political affairs of South Vietnam and at arranging for general elections, have been suspended since mid-April when the South Vietnamese delegation walked out to protest alleged intensified cease-fire violations by the Communists.

In military action, Viet Cong forces on Friday cut Highway 1 leading to the coast for the second time in less than two weeks. But it was not expected to have any major economic impact, the Saigon command said yesterday.

A Saigon spokesman said the highway was cut less than two miles from the provincial capital of Xuan Loc, about 40 miles east of Saigon, by Viet Cong shelling and infantry attacks against government militiamen.

In Cambodia, insurgent gunners fired three rockets into the area around the presidential palace last night, and opened fire on a 20-vehicle convoy seven miles from Phnom Penh.

No casualties were reported in the rocket attack, but port sources said the rebels sank a rice barge, disabled a freighter and damaged two others, and killed two sailors and wounded two guards.

Two Mafia Figures Slain in New York

NEW YORK, June 23 (UPI).—Two men believed to be connected with the Mafia's Joseph Colombo crime "family" were slain yesterday in a gangland-style execution on a Brooklyn street, police said.

The victims, each killed about 4 a.m. by a shotgun blast in the chest, were identified as John Cocco and Thomas Babuska, both 35. Police sources said they were "soldiers" in the Colombo family. "As usual, nobody heard nothing and nobody saw nothing," a police spokesman said.

Pakistan Says 42 Died in Religious Rioting

RAWALPINDI, Pakistan, June 23 (Reuters).—A total of 42 persons died during recent religious disturbances in the Punjab area, a government spokesman said yesterday.

The spokesman, reporting on 10 days of riots between orthodox Moslems and members of the small Ahmadi sect, said 37 sect members had been killed.

Phnom Penh Proves Unable to Win or Lose

By David K. Shipley

SAIGON, June 23 (NYT).—The war in Cambodia has become a war of no victories and no defeats, just a slow, unrelenting deterioration in virtually every facet of the government's existence—military, economic, political, psychological.

Yet the Phnom Penh government exists, and, by its defiance of the prognosticators' assertions last August that it could never survive without the help of American bombing, the regime has put an end to the predictions of an imminent Communist take-over.

"The other side is not strong enough to win, and this side is not feeble enough to lose," a diplomat observed recently.

In the six-month dry season now ending—that period when the water recedes from the rice paddies and the troops can move—the record has been shattering for the government and disappointment for the Communist-led insurgents.

Links Are Cut

In the military sphere, the insurgents have severed thoroughly, and some believe permanently, Phnom Penh's highway links to the ports and agricultural areas. But they have not cut the flow of traffic on the Mekong River, a main supply route to the capital. And both Phnom Penh and some provincial capitals withstood some

mismanaged Communist offensives.

Economically, the insurgents have squeezed Phnom Penh until the cost of living there has soared at an annual rate of nearly 300 percent, fostering widespread corruption and requiring any honest civil servant to spend his entire income on food.

But the city still goes about its business. It has not yet been gripped by starvation. "The situation is bad," an American economist said, "but it can go on being bad for a long time and it can even get worse."

Politically, the government has been torn by internal dissent. A long teachers' strike over inflation and official corruption grew into an angry student protest that resulted in the deaths of the education minister and a former minister, who were apparently killed by a nonstudent gunman as they were being held hostage in a high school.

Furthermore, bickering between the two political parties that formed the governing coalition led to a series of cabinet resignations that produced a new cabinet last week that does not include the minority party. But the military, the real source of power here, does not seem especially restive under Marshal Lon Nol's rule.

Psychologically, the Communist-led insurgents have demoralized Phnom Penh but have not thrown the inhabitants into panic.



A woman weeps at funeral Saturday in Sidon, Lebanon, for victims of Israeli raids on Palestinian refugee camps.

News Analysis

Nixon Trip Awakens Israel to Major Shifts

By Terence Smith

JERUSALEM, June 23 (NYT).—It has taken a few days to sink in, but most Israelis now seem to recognize the significance of the Nixon visit to the Middle East and the dramatic American opening to the Arab world that it represents.

The sight of an American president being warmly welcomed in four Arab capitals has brought home the realization that major changes are taking place in the geopolitics of the Middle East—changes to which Israel will be forced to adapt.

Premier Yitzhak Rabin acknowledged as much in a speech to the Israeli parliament last week in which he said that it was vital for Israel to "take a clear look at the rapidly changing world around us" and assess its meaning for Israel.

Evolving Political Drama

The Nixon tour through the Middle East has made it more

evident than before that Israel is no longer the master of its policies. Israelis now realize that they are part of a much larger and evolving political drama that is being played out as much in Washington and Moscow as it is in Cairo and Jerusalem.

In addition, there seems to be a new appreciation here of the sort of ramifications that the Watergate scandals can have on an area of high American involvement such as the Middle East. Many Israelis believe that the nuclear provisions in the U.S.-Egyptian agreement were included only because Mr. Nixon wanted major headlines during his visit there, a politically weakened president, they reason, is susceptible to the type of grandstanding that a stronger president would never indulge in.

Beyond the promise of nuclear technology to Egypt, the Israelis are concerned about the possibility that the United States may be considering some military assistance to Egypt and Syria. The Pentagon's report last week that a small military mission would visit Egypt produced banner headlines in the Israeli papers and a spate of alarmed editorials about the new directions of U.S. policy in the Middle East.

Rapportement Welcomed

Israel's leaders have welcomed a U.S.-Arab rapprochement publicly on the grounds that increased U.S. influence in the Arab world is preferable to a Soviet monopoly, but, as other Israelis point out privately, that argument amounts to little more than putting the best face on something they are powerless to prevent.

From 1967 to 1973, Israel was the dominant and determining force in the Middle East. The major powers kept hands off and it was Israel's military strength that determined what would change.

Since the October war, the big powers have become more involved. Oil has become a major weapon. The Arab states have demonstrated a new political sophistication and unity.

When Mr. Nixon urged Israel last Sunday to take risks for peace, his message had a special significance. Speaking at a state dinner given in his honor, Mr. Nixon called on Israel's leaders—who were seated in the audience—to recognize that neither the status quo nor continuous war is a solution for Israel's dilemma.

"There was no mistaking his message," an Israeli official observed. "He was warning us that the old policy was no good and to

be prepared for the changes that are coming up."

The theme was reiterated at a news conference the next day by Secretary of State Henry Kissinger, who described the on-going process of negotiation that had begun in the Middle East in November and already resulted in Israel's troop-separation agreements with Egypt and Syria.

'Way to Assure It'

He spoke sympathetically of the Israeli "premonition of catastrophe" that attends this process as a result of Jewish and Israeli history. But, he argued, "I believe that as a result of this trip and of the events that will follow this trip, Israel will understand that its long-term security is more surely guaranteed by what is now going on and, in fact, it is the only way to assure it."

That last phrase graphically illustrated the U.S. view that Israel has in fact no choice but to reach an accommodation with its Arab neighbors.

This will require significant additional Israeli withdrawals from occupied Arab territory. The process, Mr. Kissinger acknowledged, would involve some "pain and uncertainty" for Israel, but was unavoidable.

All this has raised some fundamental doubts here about the future of the U.S.-Israel relationship. The fears are not for the short term, when Israel confidently expects unstinting U.S. support, but for the long term. "Time is working against us in this situation," an Israeli observed. "Eventually the greater geopolitical weight of the Arabs and their oil is going to draw the United States in deeper. That's when our real problems will begin."

Kissinger Denies Secret Deal Altered '72 Big-2 Arms Pact

(Continued from Page 1)

derground nuclear testing, an authoritative source said. However, this is the lesser of the nuclear issues, even though it may be hailed as the centerpiece at the Moscow summit meeting.

On the central nuclear issue of negotiating limits on multiple independently targetable re-entry vehicles (MIRVs), or multiple warheads, the Nixon administration remains divided, with weaponry experts raising greater demands than the diplomats.

Sen. Jackson's position exemplifies many of the military establishment's misgivings, although his own proposal is for sharp reductions in American and Soviet nuclear arms to "equivalent" levels. No one expects such reductions.

An authoritative source said that President Nixon will go to Moscow with "a range of options" on MIRV controls, to try to bargain some form of accord on the spot.

The new controversy that erupted Friday between Mr. Kissinger and Sen. Jackson is being deployed by administration officials as further evidence of what is called "the miasma of suspicion" that now pervades Washington.

In private administration officials say that Sen. Jackson's public charge, almost on the eve of the summit meeting, shows a breakdown of normal "faith and credit" between the executive and legislative branches.

Sen. Jackson, who vows to question Mr. Kissinger closely at a Senate hearing tomorrow, claims that it is the administration that has defaulted on the normal and necessary pattern of consultation with Congress, partially as a result of Mr. Kissinger's lengthy absences from Washington for

Israel, Arabs, U.S. to Renew Talks in Fall

(Continued from Page 1)

tions he visited confirmed the view of Secretary of State Henry Kissinger that moderates were in the ascendancy in the Arab world. Now that Syria has agreed to restore diplomatic relations, American officials believe that it is only a matter of time before Iraq, the most hostile of the Arab nations toward negotiations with Israel and a country in which Moscow has invested heavily, agrees to normalize ties with the United States.

A major public relations effort will have to be made to convince the American public and Congress that they should support the administration's moves to improve ties with the Arabs.

Israel Withdrawal

TEL AVIV, June 23 (UPI).—Israeli forces today surrendered the final sliver of Golan Heights territory captured in the October war, withdrawing behind the 1967 cease-fire line that Syrian armor partially overran in the first days of battle.

Following a small ceremony at Tel Krum, the last Israeli soldier and tank pulled out two hours ahead of schedule at 2 p.m., a military spokesman said. United Nations peace-keeping troops moved in to establish a buffer zone.

France-Egypt Talks Set

CAIRO, June 23 (UPI).—French Foreign Minister Jean Sauvagnargues will visit Cairo soon for talks with Egyptian officials, the Middle East News Agency said.

Said to Be Unharmed

Guerrillas in Ethiopia Free Pregnant U.S. Mission Nurse

ADDIS ABABA, Ethiopia, June 23 (AP).—The members of a guerrilla separatist movement released a pregnant American missionary nurse unharmed yesterday after holding her for 27 days in the wilderness.

Deborah Dortzbach, 24, of Freehold, N.J., said, "I'm all right. I feel fine," after walking alone into Massawa, a Red Sea port 450 miles north of here. She is six months pregnant.

Mrs. Dortzbach telephoned her missionary husband, Karl, and was then flown to a reunion with him at Asmara, the capital of northern Eritrean Province.

Karl's father, the Rev. Elmer Dortzbach, said at his home in a suburb of Denver that what the couple did next would depend on Deborah's condition. "They may leave for a week in Europe or come home for a week or so of relaxation," he said. But he added that he understood Mrs. Dortzbach had been well cared for by her captors.

The nurse said her faith kept her going during the four weeks she was held by the Eritrean Liberation Front. The group gave no reason for her release. Three Americans and two Canadians who were kidnapped on an oil exploration mission in Eritrea three months ago are still being held.

Dutch Nurse Slain

Mrs. Dortzbach was taken hostage May 27 at the missionary hospital at Ghinda, 26 miles from Asmara, where she and her husband worked. A Dutch nurse was killed.

The guerrillas have been fighting for the independence of Eritrea for 10 years, but recently stepped up their activities. They reportedly attacked vehicles on the road between Asmara and Massawa after widespread mutinies in the Eritrean military.

Mrs. Dortzbach said she had been treated well. There were different versions of her release but one account said she had been left on the outskirts of Massawa after a four-day camel ride. Another said she had walked to the city under surveillance for two or three days.

There was no report of conditions attached to her release but

reliable sources said the guerrillas had originally demanded a \$250,000 ransom but scented it down to \$35,000. The sources said the ransom demand was eventually abandoned and medical supplies were requested instead to fight cholera in parts of Eritrea.

Mr. Dortzbach said that "to my knowledge, no ransom was paid. My son wrote me that he had no intention of paying it."

There was no immediate comment from the Society of International Missions, which operates the Ghinda hospital.

5 Die in Bomb Attack

ASMARA, Ethiopia, June 23 (Reuters).—A bomb attack which killed eight persons and wounded 19 in Eritrea Province appeared today to mark an escalation in the guerrilla campaign against the central government.

A bomb was detonated under a bus bound for Addis Ababa. The incident occurred on Thursday, the same day that guerrillas killed Selam Ibrahim Hummed Arel, an adviser to the provincial governor-general, in the center of the Eritrean capital, Asmara. The adviser held the rank of minister of state.

Both attacks were apparently the work of the Eritrean Liberation Front.



Deborah Dortzbach

U.S. 'Smoke Jumpers' Brave Challenge of Forest Fires

By Andrew H. Malcolm

MISSOULA, Mont., June 23 (NYT).—In 1934, "smoke jumping" was abandoned as a bare-brained scheme, a risky suicidal plot by publicity-loving daredevils and crackpots. Today, it is a summer job.

"Smoke jumping," said Leonard Krout, a smoke jumper, "is probably not a good career job." This is true only because after a few dozen jumps and a few fiery scares, the young airborne fire fighters start thinking about the law of averages.

Nonetheless, at the beginning of every summer, about 400 men, mostly college students or teachers, gather at regional centers in the Northwest for a month's training or a week's refresher on smoke jumping.

The training course such points as how to jump from an airplane without getting caught on its tail or how to exit gracefully from a tree that has snared your parachute 125 feet above ground.

Bonuses for Tough Ones

For this, the men earn about \$4 an hour, a 25 percent bonus for fighting uncontrollable fires and all the freeze-dried food they can squeeze into their 100-pound backpacks.

There were no freeze-dried foods back in the late 1930s when smoke-jumping advocates revived the idea of using planes and parachutes to get fire fighters to isolated blazes in minutes by air instead of days by foot.

"In those days," recalled 62-year-old Earl Cooley, who made the first jump in 1940, "our training consisted of a man saying: 'This is your parachute. You know what fire is. We jump tomorrow.'"

Since then, smoke jumpers have made about 115,000 jumps, including 6,589 last year. They have suffered just one fatality in the act of jumping, one drowned and a half-drowned deaths in plane crashes.

Nationally last year, there were 12,424 fires on lands protected by the Forest Service. Of these, 6,376 were caused by lightning and 6,048 by man, including 963 cases of arson.

Like the Marines

Because 1 percent of all forest fires cause 75 percent of the damage, the Forest Service wants to get trained men to the most dangerous fires as soon as possible. Thus, the smoke jumpers are used as an initial strike force much like the Marines. And the similarity does not end there.

The obstacle course, for instance, consists of a trampoline, an overhead ladder, a wall climb, a sloped ramp, a run through a series of tires, a rope climb over a gorge, another ramp, another rope climb and a 75-yard dash. "It's not too hard," Mr. Krout said, "and we give them two minutes to do it."

Out on a fire, the men have one basic duty: to separate the flames from the fuel. This involves clearing firebreaks. Sometimes a smoke jumper's helmet gets so hot it cannot be touched

Oil Earnings Seen 5 Times Level of 1972

UNITED NATIONS, N.Y., June 23 (AP).—UN economists say that because of last year's quadrupling of oil prices, earnings of organized oil exporting countries may well reach \$1 billion in 1974, more than five times the 1972 level.

In their latest annual world economic survey, they predict that high oil prices will keep feeding inflation and unemployment.

They also warn that unless oil exporters dip into their gains to save oil importers from payments deficits, new trade barriers may arise and "set in motion a cumulative process of contraction in trade and production" around the world.

They estimate that the developed market economies of Western Europe, North America and Japan will have to pay about \$50 billion more for oil imports this year than last and that their economic growth rates will be down.

In such countries, they forecast continuing inflation from high petroleum product prices and growing unemployment as oil crisis uncertainty discourages investment.

They say that in the developing countries of Africa, Asia and Latin America, oil imports in 1974 will cost about \$15 billion altogether, three times as much as in 1973 and four times as much as in 1972.

In the tropics, they point out, the most vulnerable are countries that must import a lot of oil and food but export commodities that have benefited least from the price upsurge.

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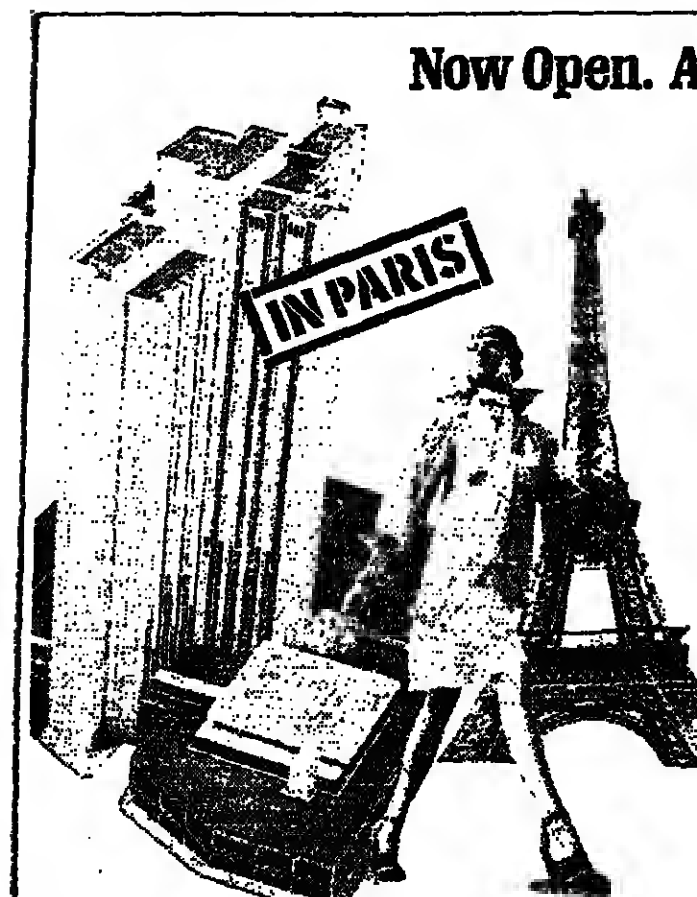
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Counsel, 8 on House Inquiry

9 Republicans to Seal Nixon's Fate

By James M. Naughton

WASHINGTON, June 23 (NYT).—President Nixon's fate in the House impeachment inquiry may be decided by nine Republicans—eight more or less uncommitted members of the House Judiciary Committee and its special counsel.

At 5:45 p.m. Friday, 733 days after the Watergate burglary, the committee completed six weeks of closed hearings on impeachment evidence assembled by its staff.

In the next four weeks, the 38 members of the committee will decide whether the evidence warrants a recommendation that the President stand trial in the Senate for alleged constitutional crimes.

Well-placed members of the House and officials of the impeachment inquiry believe that a majority of the Judiciary Committee will vote in favor of impeaching Mr. Nixon, thus sending the case to the House floor. There, the full chamber will decide whether to impeach him—effect, in effect, to impeach him in the Senate.

But the majority will be composed mostly of Democrats. And the outcome on the House floor, where 397 other members will decide whether to accept the findings of their 38 colleagues on the committee, may be determined by the extent to which the impeachment recommendation has Republican support.

No one seems certain how much bipartisan breadth would be persuasive. There are 17 Republicans on the committee, and one of them, Rep. Tom Railsback of Illinois, said two or three Republican votes might be sufficient, according to a respected Democratic official, would be "substantial." Rep. John Anderson, chairman of the House Republican Conference, estimated that "more than two or three" would be the deciding factor.

Accordingly, in the view of those who have closely watched the conduct of the inquiry for clues to its likely outcome, Mr. Nixon's impeachment or exoneration could hinge on the following:

• A series of crucial procedural decisions that the committee will make this week. The issues, over

which the committee is split along partisan lines, include the form and scope of a rebuttal presentation to be made by White House lawyers, and the number and identity of witnesses who will be summoned to testify at impeachment hearings.

• The votes on proposed articles of impeachment that will be cast by eight committee Republicans who are widely regarded as being more or less uncommitted. They are Robert McClure and Rep. Railsback of Illinois, Henry Smith 3d and Hamilton Fish Jr. of New York, Willy Mayne of Iowa, Lawrence Hogan of Maryland, Caldwell Butler of Virginia and William Cohen of Maine.

• The role that John Doar, the committee's special counsel on impeachment, will play in the final stages of the inquiry. He, too, is a Republican.

12 Hours of Tapes

In the 18 days of hearings that ended Friday, Mr. Doar and his staff presented to the committee 38 volumes of evidence, consisting of 650 findings of fact and 7,200 pages of supporting documentation, and played 12 hours of the President's tape-recorded conversations.

If the evidence was huge in scope, it apparently was not conclusive in content, at least, in form. It was said to contain substantial indications that the President violated criminal laws and disregarded constitutional obligations, but no indisputable proof that he had.

"I'd prefer to be the defense counsel," summed up Rep. Charles Wiggins of California, who has emerged as the leading defender of Mr. Nixon on the committee.

Rigidly Impartial

How the committee votes may well be influenced by Mr. Doar's actions.

He has been rigidly impartial thus far, Democrats, Republicans and even the President's chief defense counsel, James St. Clair, have stated that Mr. Doar protected the evidence without characterizing or coloring it. Many say that they have been inundated by such a flood of evidence that they cannot determine, without some guidance or at least consultation, where to locate definite grounds for impeachment.

The closer they get to a vote assessing Mr. Nixon's conduct, the more fiercely committee members—especially Southern Democrats and neutral Republicans—have become. For many of them, a vote on impeachment could decide their own political futures.

Threats Are Received

Both advocates and opponents of impeachment in their districts send wavering committee members mail containing veiled—and sometimes explicit—threats that a vote either way will end the member's career. Some members have privately expressed regret that the staff presentation did not contain some damning, irrefutable piece of evidence—the "murder weapon," they call it—that would decide the question to the satisfaction of their constituents.

Without, apparently, such a piece of evidence, the committee is faced with a decision based on an accumulation of bits and pieces of a potential case against the President and on the theory that Mr. Nixon's defiance of committee subpoenas and requests for 183 more tape recordings supports the "adverse inference" that the tapes would be incriminating.



Daniel Baggard with a 132-pound squash that grew in his garden at Fort Meade, Fla. The squash, which is 73 inches around, was one of nine over 70 pounds.

18 More Co-Conspirators Said to Be on Watergate List

By George Lardner Jr.

WASHINGTON, June 23 (WP).—Watergate prosecutors have given defense lawyers in the Watergate cover-up case a list of 19 alleged unidentified co-conspirators but insisted that the names be kept secret.

Special prosecutor Leon Jaworski contended that the list should not be made public until the Supreme Court reviews the Watergate grand jury's naming of President Nixon as an indicted participant in the alleged conspiracy. The court is due to rule next month.

Despite the secrecy, it was understood that the list, which was turned over Friday, comprises, in addition to Mr. Nixon:

• Former White House counsel John Dean 3d and two Nixon re-election campaign deputies, Jeb Magruder and Frederick LaRue. All have already pleaded guilty to obstructing justice in the Watergate scandal and are expected to be called as government witnesses at the cover-up trial in September of six of Mr. Nixon's former top aides and campaign advisers.

• Howard Hunt and Gordon

U.S. Study Links Use of Estrogen And Headaches

CHICAGO, June 23 (AP).—A study of migraine patients shows that women who take birth-control pills or estrogens in other forms have more headaches than other such patients, a researcher reports.

Dr. Lee Kudrow told the annual meeting of the American Association for the Study of Headache yesterday that stopping use of the pill reduced headache frequency among most of the women. He said changing the estrogen dosage and its timing helped women taking this hormone as therapy.

Dr. Kudrow, director of the California Medical Clinic for Headache, studied 300 headache sufferers. 339 of them women, 62 percent of whom were using estrogens in some form. Estrogens, which are female hormones, are sometimes prescribed for postmenopausal women and for treatment of some diseases.

Migraine has been associated with constriction of blood vessels in the head and Dr. Kudrow suggested that constriction of blood vessels caused by estrogens may cause migraine headaches in these women.

Seventy percent of the women using oral contraceptives showed a marked reduction of headache frequency after they stopped taking the pills, although this often did not occur until four weeks after discontinuation.

Minn. GOP Hits Equal Rights Bill

DULUTH, Minn., June 23 (AP).—The Minnesota Republican Convention chose an all-male slate of candidates for state offices yesterday, then adopted a platform plank that called for the legislature to rescind its approval of the Equal Rights Amendment.

All six male candidates opposed the platform measure, which was approved by a 643-297 vote. The legislature approved the proposed Equal Rights Amendment in 1973, making Minnesota one of 32 states that have approved it so far. Ratification by 38 states before March, 1979, is needed before the measure guaranteeing equal rights regardless of sex becomes part of the Constitution.

Canterbury Schedule LONDON, June 23 (AP).—The most Rev. Donald Coggan will be enthroned as archbishop of Canterbury in Canterbury Cathedral on Jan. 24, two months after he takes up his post. The Anglican Church announced today.

Gallup Poll

Democrats Could Control 66% Of House, Survey Indicates

By George Gallup

Director, American Institute of Public Opinion

PRINCETON, N. J., June 23.—The Democratic party in the House would obtain the power to override presidential vetoes—that is, two-thirds or more of the seats—if congressional elections were being held at the present time.

Developments related to the Watergate scandals and the state of the economy can obviously change the congressional picture in the months between now and Nov. 5 when all members of the House come up for election.

However, the latest nationwide survey shows Republican congressional strength remaining at about the lowest level in 38 years of Gallup polls, with the GOP unable to narrow the gap on the Democrats since last October.

The Democrats currently hold a commanding lead: 57 to 30 percent, with 13 percent undecided among registered voters. This almost exactly matches results recorded in surveys at the beginning of the current year, and surveys conducted last autumn.

In only three national elections in the last four decades—1932, 1934, and 1964—has a party (in each case the Democratic party) won two-thirds or more seats.

The findings cannot be translated directly into seats since to do so surveys would have to be conducted in each of the 435 congressional districts of the nation. National percentages, however, do offer a good general guide to seat changes.

The current standings reported today indicate that if the elections were being held at this time, the Republican loss of seats would go far beyond the normal loss an administration suffers in off-year elections.

The party occupying the White House normally loses seats in an off-year election, and this loss during the last two decades has averaged 26 seats. Only once in this century, in 1934, has the administration in office gained seats in the off-year races for the House.

The present standing of the two major parties is revealed in the figures below, which show the division of the vote for mem-

LATEST VOTE FOR CONGRESS

(Among Registered Voters)

Democrats 57 %
Republicans 30
Other/Undecided 13

The following table shows the trend in the congressional vote since May, 1973:

	Dem.	Rep.	Other/Undecl.
Latest	57 %	30 %	13 %
January	58	29	13
October, 1973	58	30	12
May, 1973	58	28	14

Stamp Machine Pays Jackpot

ROSEVILLE, Mich., June 23 (AP).—A postage-stamp machine went out of kilter at a suburban Detroit shopping mall and began spitting out thousands of stamps, a postmaster said yesterday.

When the machine, set in motion by a single quarter, finally stopped, \$780 in stamps were on the ground, Roseville Postmaster Arthur Waterman said.

Two teen-age boys collected the stamps and returned them to the postoffice. Each was presented with a \$25 savings bond and a commendation from Mr. Waterman for "exceptional character and honesty."

Black Sea Site For Nixon Visit Reported Picked

WASHINGTON, June 23 (UPI).—President Nixon probably will visit the Black Sea resort of Oreanda during his visit to the Soviet Union this week, a White House official said yesterday.

He confirmed that Yalta, which had been suggested by the Russian hosts as a possible stop during Mr. Nixon's five-day visit, has been ruled out. He also said that Minsk, the capital of Byelorussia, probably would be the President's only other stop outside of Oreanda and Moscow.

Mr. Nixon will go to Moscow on Thursday after a meeting in Brussels Wednesday with NATO leaders.

Reports from Moscow quoting Americans in the advance planning party said that Mr. Nixon did not want to go to Yalta because of its symbolism as the site where Western interests were bargained away at the close of World War II.

Officials said that Soviet party leader Leonid Brezhnev, Mr. Nixon's host for the visit, has a dacha at Oreanda, in the Crimean peninsula, and considers it "his San Clemente"—a reference to Mr. Nixon's seaside home in California. During Mr. Brezhnev's visit to the United States last May, Mr. Nixon took him to San Clemente.

Copter-Flying Mayor Of N.Y.C. Crashes

NEW YORK, June 23 (AP).—A police helicopter, with Mayor Abraham Beame and several of his City Hall aides aboard, went down in New York Harbor off the Brooklyn shore Friday. City Hall sources said the mayor and the others were taken safely aboard a police launch. First reports said there were no injuries.

City Hall said the copter came down off Bush Terminal during a heavy rainstorm. The copter had taken off from the Wall Street Helipoint, bound for Kennedy Airport, where Mayor Beame was to join his wife, Mary, and go with her to San Diego, for the U.S. Conference of Mayors.

The present standing of the two major parties is revealed in the figures below, which show the division of the vote for mem-

Russia Beats U.S. 3-1 in Chess Play

NICE, June 23 (AP).—The Soviet team played with determination today in the eighth round of the finals of the chess Olympiad of Nations to win convincingly against the United States, 3-1.

Both Boris Spassky and Mikhail Tal have been in unconvincing form here and were omitted from the team for this prestige match.

The most impressive game was on the top board where Anatoly Karpov exploited a small advantage in space gained from the opening to defeat Ljubomir Kavalek of Washington, D.C.

The other Soviet victory was on board three where Tigran Petrosian defeated Walter Browne of Berkeley, Calif.

The other games, between Viktor Korchnoi and Robert Byrne of Ossining, N.Y., and Gennady Kuzmin and the Rev. William Lombardy of New York City, ended in draws.

Tremors Hit Skopje

SKOPLJE, Yugoslavia, June 23 (Reuters).—A series of 16 weak earth tremors were registered here Friday. Tanjug press agency said. No damage or casualties were reported.

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U.S. Is Groping For New Role In Asia Affairs

(This is the first of two articles on the new American stance in Asia.)

By Joseph Lelyveld

BANGKOK (UPI)—The United States is gradually reducing its commitments in Asia but rapidly expanding its interests as it gropes, almost in a somnambulant manner, for a new role in the region.

In the aftermath of the combat operations in Indochina, themes that justified the American stance in Asia for two decades—militant anti-Communism and self-proclaimed altruism—appear to have been played out.

One by one, assumptions on which American diplomacy built an elaborate security system in the 1950s were discarded: first, the Nixon doctrine in 1969, with its assumption that the United States would avoid a direct combat role in Asian conflicts; then, in the dramatic American end run to Peking two years later, which stunned Japan and all the other Asian nations that had been evangelized by the United States and offered protection against the menace from China.

Now even the fallback position of the Nixon doctrine is eroding, for every congressional assault on a military aid bill imposes new limitations and conditions on the promise that the United States would continue to funnel indirect military support to its old Asian allies.

American officials, Asians find, no longer hazard assurances on long-range American intentions.

big leaders—the oil companies, the auto makers and a legion of banks rushing into their first Asian ventures.

Leading the international scramble, the American oil companies will spend several hundred million dollars this year on exploration in the Java Sea and the Gulf of Siam. The "exposure" of American banks in the region—that is, the amount they have put on loan—is more than \$6 billion outside Japan, banking sources estimate, and is steadily rising.

U.S. Firms

At last count, 500 American companies, big and small, had opened offices in Hong Kong, Singapore, which has developed a short-term, high-interest Asian dollar market, has 16 American banks with branches or representative offices scouting for business. There are 87 companies here connected with the oil industry—drilling contractors, equipment suppliers, rig builders and those engaged in exploration.

That the United States is coming out of its Vietnam trauma with a vastly larger stake in the area than it had when it went to war is just the first of a series of paradoxes that show up in the new pattern of relations. The most painful is the most enduring—Vietnam itself.

The American troops have left, taking their heavy firepower with them, and 135,000 Vietnamese have been laid off by American agencies of all kinds. Yet Americans arriving in South Vietnam are startled to hear old Saigon hands assert that, fundamentally, nothing has changed in the relations between Saigon and Washington—that the dependence remains total, with no end in sight.

The part of the American military assistance that can be located in the Defense Department's budget is in process of being placed under a new statutory limitation by Congress. In the coming fiscal year the figure will be somewhere between \$900.4 million and \$1,126 billion after Senate and House conferees reach a compromise. Knowledgeable Vietnamese say the Pentagon is still intimately involved in planning the Vietnamese military structure and the budgeting of the aid funds.

But what makes 1974 different from 1972, or even 1973, is not the reduced role of the American presence but the ambiguous state of the American commitment.

A senior Vietnamese diplomat commented: "We know what to expect from the North Vietnamese. We don't know what to expect from the Americans. Your only commitment is in a standard, still, to keep off an offensive that would put you in a bad position."

The hopes of American policymakers for permanently deferring a decision on a renewed military commitment rest on the massive air power on display in Thailand. Under present plans that force will be "drawn down" from 35,000 to 27,000 by the end of the year. In an interview, Ambassador William Kintner said the plans called for keeping it at that level until the end of the next dry season in Indochina; that is, until May, 1975.

Secretary of State Henry Kissinger has shown a personal interest in maintaining the presence, the ambassador noted.

(Next: The American presence as reflected in ideas.)

Long-Term Role

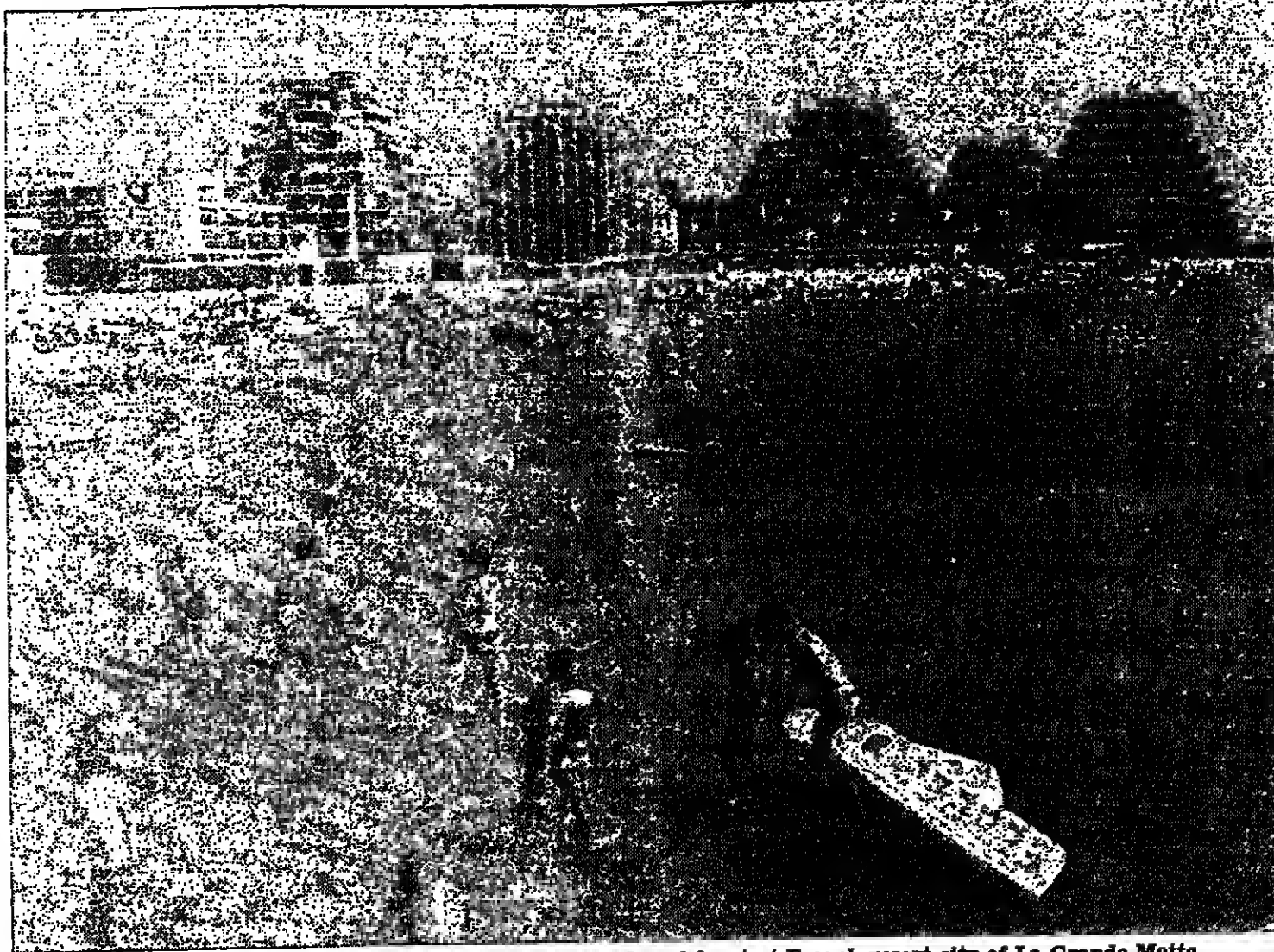
The long-term American role in the region, as explained in the Nixon doctrine, is to counterbalance threats posed by other nuclear powers, the Soviet Union and China. But strategic theorizing still take second place to the continuing preoccupation with Indochina. The comparison with the 1964 force levels shows a marked shift in the center of gravity in the American presence toward Southeast Asia.

In 1964 the American economic stake in Asia outside Japan, could reasonably have been called negligible. No one would say that now. In 10 years American trade with the region has doubled while equity investments have increased threefold.

At a conservative estimate American corporations have put \$3.5 billion into Asia excluding Japan; the value of their assets—the figures are unavailable—is significantly higher.

U.S. Agrees to Aid

The President affirmed that the United States, in accordance with congressional authorization, will continue to provide economic



Pyramid-style buildings tower over Mediterranean beachfront at French resort city of La Grande Motte.

Those Pyramids Along the Languedoc Riviera

By Alan Tillier

LA GRANDE MOTTE, France—Europe's pyramids won't be attracting those famous pyramid collectors, President Nixon and Secretary of State Henry Kissinger, but the season is now open and the crowds are flocking to the Mediterranean to see the highly unusual sight.

Pyramid City rises on the windswept coastal plain next to the Languedoc capital of Montpellier. Its pointed concrete buildings of 10 stories or more form an architectural ensemble unique on the Continent and can be seen from far out at sea or by the motorist driving across the Camargue.

From a middle distance, the semicircular design of many of the windows and balcony walls give the city the appearance of a moonscape, patterned with meteoric craters.

Its only challengers for audacity are the controversial, curved, giant apartment buildings at Sale des Anges, Antibes, the latest French Alpine resorts and the Italian-designed avant-garde holiday blocks on the Black Sea coast in northern Bulgaria.

Shock Value

La Grande Motte (the Big Mound) is Pyramid City's official name and it is a much more ambitious project than its rivals. It is only for its shock value. It forms part of the French government's attempt to build a second, different Riviera, this one between Marseilles and Spain.

The plan also calls for it to be a living, year-round city despite its artificial creation. The gamble has not yet paid off. Pyramid City virtually dies in the winter. So do Côte d'Azur resorts: most of them, however, are linked to towns or are offshoots of active areas. Juan-les-Pins goes to sleep in the winter but maintains its lifeline with Antibes.

A few months ago, a visitor to Pyramid City thought of it as a huge white elephant. But it has sprung to life now for its short season. It may lack a "soul," as many of its residents complain, but there are now bustling cafes, restaurants and shops. It lacks any Cannes or Saint-Tropez chic, but there is refreshing informality

and a mix of nationalities. It has no fishermen and no great restaurants, but it has wonderful beaches, good sailing and is somewhat cheaper than its distinguished neighborly strip of coast.

Above all, La Grande Motte is structurally mind-boggling and a complete break with the recent trend in trompe-l'oeil Provencal fishing villages. It is a duplicate of Saint-Tropez, like Port-Grimaud or a duplicate Port-Grimaud like La Grande Motte's neighbor, Le Cap d'Agde.

3 New Resorts

La Grande Motte is one of eight new resorts built along the Languedoc-Roussillon coast, a stretch known as "Mosquito Coast" only a decade ago. It was really little more than a chain of swamps.

About \$190 million of state funds have been spent in killing the insects, building roads, digging yacht harbors and providing water and sewage facilities. Private builders have poured in \$300 million more.

The whole project is about two-thirds completed and Paris is hoping that foreign investors will now come in. So far the British have shown greatest interest. Scottish and Newcastle Breweries, who have a disinterest in Nice, are going to build a golf course and so provide another reason for travelers not to go on to Spain. Danair, a British airline, is pumping tourists into Montpellier and other local airports as are the Swedish and West German charter companies.

At La Grande Motte, tourists find a city of around 30,000-35,000 people with conventional villas, motels and camping sites hidden behind the pyramids.

Jean Balladur, one of France's leading architects, is the flamboyant character who put the \$25-million concrete city together. He was partly influenced by Art Deco architecture. Mr. Balladur says the need, too, for sloping wind barriers on the wind-scorched Languedoc plain. He considered that rectangular blocks or miniskyscrapers would be eye-sores, or "knives stuck into the plain."

Mr. Balladur says: "Architecture should never be just practical, but symbolic and cosmic. The architect is an explorer who sets

out not knowing for sure where he is going.

"The Aztec temples were a means of taking possession of the plain. Here, conditions are also hard, for the wind and salt from the sea burn trees. People will feel secure in my powerful, protected city."

The architect has limited the pyramids to the 120-acre heart of the city and has permitted his shoes. He says of his new home: "It is mathematical. Germanic, year 2000. It has taken the Latin some time to get used to it. Now we need to turn the city over to Montpellier's students in the winter and spring. Then youth and the sun will provide the osmosis."

Dress designer Michele Menabrea says there is not yet a "Grand Motte" style beyond short shorts with a top of molting color and she says Côte d'Azur is still dominated. Still, she and her friends are searching for something distinctive through forthrightly fashion parades. They also want the city to attract more celebrities, believing they are the surest way to launch a resort.

The willowy Michele says: "They don't have to be Brigitte Bardot. They could be young economic or political stars."

Others disagree, but debates show La Grande Motte's year-round residents, about 1,500 of them, want their resort to really take off. They have finally broken their administrative link with a little village across the nearby lagoon and will become officially a city. They have built a church which converts into a theater, are adding more hotels (there are only a couple of hundred rooms at the moment) and more tennis courts.

Five-room apartments in La Grande Motte will cost around \$80,000. Altogether, 4,150 apartments have been built in the city and 4,000 sold.

Reactions of local people and visitors vary.

"Do you really like it?" asked the woman running the post office. "It's too big, too expensive and there are too many people." Mr. Balladur says human density will drop as La Grande Motte spreads.

Another woman, a newspaper seller, stated: "How can it have a soul when it has no past?" A lot of shopkeepers are angry because of promises of a gold rush, never materialized. Government

commodities. Even if Israel's terms of trade improve in the next few years, the relief to the economy may not be noticeable, especially in view of the rising costs of the arms that Israel wants.

Even if the United States agrees to supply Israel \$2 billion in aid in each of the next four years Israel will still face difficulties in getting the additional \$2 billion that will be needed each year to meet all essential requirements. The former minister of finance, Pinhas Sapir, who has been elected to serve as chairman of the executive of the Jewish Agency and head of the World Zionist movement, will be the man in charge of assembling all possible funds that may come from the Jewish people. Other sources of capital are expected to be private investments and the transfer of capital by individuals, mainly immigrants from Western countries.

Israelis are well aware of the fact that the total dependence on American economic aid has more than just economic and political significance. It has deep social and moral implications as well. As some experts see it, the main economic front has moved from Israel's workshops and fields to the offices in Washington where the major decisions will be made.

propaganda showing the new coast as some kind of second Florida was partly responsible.

Year 2000

Maurice Bonnet, the man who introduced those 15-centimeter sole shoes to France, has set up shop in La Grande Motte because, he thinks, the architecture matches his shoes. He says of his new home: "It is mathematical. Germanic, year 2000. It has taken the Latin some time to get used to it. Now we need to turn the city over to Montpellier's students in the winter and spring. Then youth and the sun will provide the osmosis."

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Light Industry

They are hoping that French and Northern European tourists will be forced by rising gasoline prices and overcrowding to desert the Spanish coast.

But the real problem is how to keep La Grande Motte alive between the various seasons. Mr. Bonnet and his friends think the only solution is research centers and pollution-free, light industry in the region, like "Science City" being built behind Cannes. This would provide a larger permanent population.

The government, which has a planning hold on the region, does not agree but has given permission for centers for artisans to be created in La Grande Motte.

Pyramid City is probably going to make it, if it pays attention to the needs of its streets and waterfront. A retired French Army colonel, André Durieux, seems an unlikely champion of the place, but he sold his chateau in Perdigon to take a three-room duplex apartment in "Temple du Soleil" pyramid. And Lucienne Brain, another early buyer, thinks La Grande Motte should "relax and not take itself seriously."

Mr. Balladur offered this comment: "This used to be one of the poorest regions of France. Now it is an architectural landscape."

'The Rothko Trial'

A Singular Case Of Art Vs. Money

(The children of Mark Rothko, along with the New York State attorney general, are suing to cancel the contract by which Marlborough Galleries bought 100 of Mr. Rothko's best paintings in May, 1970, for \$1.8 million on the grounds that the price was too low and wasted the assets of the painter's estate. They also seek removal of the three executors who made the contract. Last week, the 2 1/2-year-old case was recessed for six weeks with the judge urging an out-of-court settlement.)

By John Russell

NEW YORK (UPI)—Toward the end of his life Mark Rothko went broody. He had every reason to do so. He was a sick man. He had private troubles of a torturous kind. People were infatuated with forms of art that he despised. Day after day he would sit in his studio, where the paintings on the wall had a look of huge, shattered presence, and he would study them long and hard, as if some question of fundamental importance had still to be settled between himself and them.

It pleased him momentarily that to some of his younger visitors a first sight of his studio was what a first sight of the temple of Luxor had been to the Victorian traveler: something that took the name of sublimity and put a new face upon it.

Mr. Rothko's was an expansive nature and at such moments the milk of human kindness poured like molasses. But there were not too many such moments and in general Mr. Rothko saw the world outside his studio as phillistine, materialistic, money-oriented and corrupt. As to the responsibility for this, none were exempt. The friend for whom nothing had been too good today turned tomorrow into the henchman, or at best the accomplice, of those who had ruined art—the dealers, the critics, the museum men, the collectors, the speculators. Mr. Rothko had lived for most of his life in a world where "How good is it?" was the only question asked only, "How much can I make on it?" he thrust upon us, one and all, a collective responsibility.

He lived a life apart, as best he could. He had money in the bank, he had money in the house (a great deal of it, as a matter of fact), and he had his pictures.

Fund for Artists

The pictures piled up, by the hundred. He wanted his family to live well, after his death, but he also dreamed of a time when artists less fortunate than himself could be helped clear of misery, thanks to his exertions, at just that stage in life when misery strikes hardest. They were not to be painters or sculptors only—writers, musicians, theater people would all qualify for help from a foundation he established. It was an inspired notion and it worked: to date, around \$250,000 has been distributed to people who have worked hard all their lives and ended up with not too much to show for it.

That is the background to what for months has been called "the Rothko trial," involving the dealings of the Marlborough Galleries with the Rothko estate. It goes without saying that Mark Rothko, second of his name, was a principle of art, he did what he could to secure the happiness of others; and then he died, by his own hand, at a moment of his own choosing.

If "the Rothko trial" has become, for some people, "the Frank Lloyd trial," it is for a number of reasons. Mr. Lloyd is an officer of the Marlborough Galleries in New York or of its numerous and multinational associates.

Mr. Lloyd would be the first to confirm that this is a matter of legal convenience. Others may appear on the letterhead, but Mr. Lloyd has the power.

Mr. Lloyd is in the art business to make money and he has never denied it. It does not interest him, as it interested his former partner, Harry Fischer, to contribute to the history of ideas with exhibitions that summed up a movement, or a period, in a spirit of informed curiosity. "I am not running a museum," he said of the New York art trade was in pretty good shape before Mr. Lloyd opened up



Mark Rothko in 1965 photo.

and that there are other dealers, here and elsewhere, whose achievement compares quite well with his.

Yet somehow, after nearly 20 years, the entire Marlborough operation looks more and more like a clanking dinosaur that belongs, in reality, to a bygone age.

It was before 1914, not in the 1970s, that the ethos of imperialism dominated the art trade. It was before 1914 that Durand-Ruel set up an auxiliary headquarters in New York from which to sell French paintings. It was before 1914 that Thos. Agnew and Sons was not content to have 43 Old Bond Street as its sole address but made forays to Berlin, and at one moment to St. Petersburg, in search of new and stable markets, bigger and better, in those days and biggest was best of all.

But ours is an age in which, for better or worse, miniaturization is the law of life. Doubtless, it can be argued that this is also the age of the supranational corporation. But it remains to be seen whether the existence of such things is to our ultimate advantage or whether they should not be compared to that other novelty of our age, the malevolent supercomputer.

Magic Principle

Miniaturization has been the magic principle of modern art dealings ever since D. H. Kahnweiler had the exclusivity of Picasso, Braque, Leger and Derrain before 1914. He rented a small shop in a side street in Paris, he put the pictures on the wall and he waited for the customers to come in. There were not many of them, but then he did not need many, either, four or five were quite enough.

That is how the great tradition of dealing in new art began. Inevitably, it gave way a little when new art became big business; but it remains true that the super-tanker notion of art was on the slide even before 1914 and has come back only in spurious and ephemeral form. The ostentatious galleries of the 1960s and 1970s have founded, for the most part, while the great successes of the period began small and have stayed small—to the point sometimes, of being open "by appointment only."

To that extent, the Marlborough complex seems to some anatomist to be more body than brain. They may or may not be "tax advantages," as Mr. Lloyd said on the stand, in pushing picture back and forth across the wall the way a croquet pushes the chips back and forth across the baccarat table. Human nature is such that when a great artist dies and what is left of his soul has a potential of millions of dollars, all manner of bizarre consequences are likely to follow. But the point is that if the work goes on in this way there are going to be any more great art; or, more precisely, the great artists are going to operate in such a way that there will be more finite art objects to be reeled up on the computer in Lancelotti.

Mr. Rothko himself once said that the only true subjects of a work "the tragic and the timeless." Well, money-making and the tragic are not the same thing. Whether or not it turns out to be tragic in this case, time will tell.

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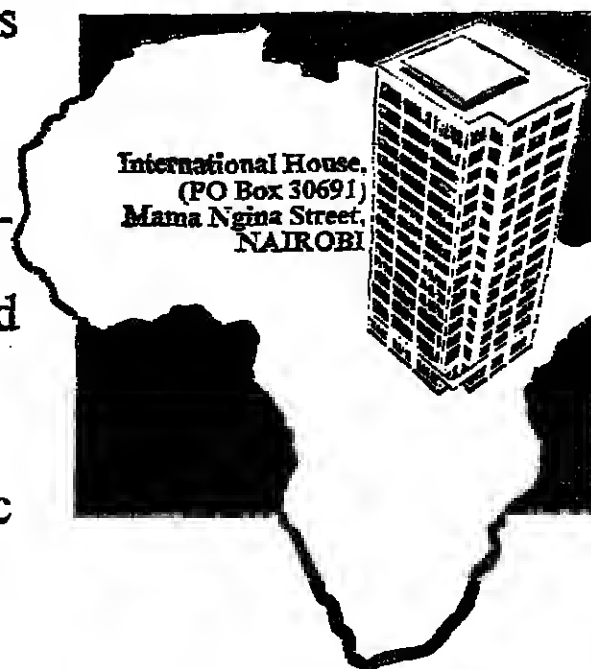
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The Third Summit

Two Nixon-Brezhnev summit conferences have shown that Soviet-American "détente" represents more an attitude or a certain subdued way of approaching problems than a magical formula for solving the problems themselves. To be sure, some parts of the President's rhetoric and that of Secretary Kissinger promise early and lasting relief from worldly cares. But their more substantial pronouncements recognize the real and continuing stickiness of the rivalries of the great powers and their perceptions of one another. That is wise.

It is at once the success and failure of détente so far that its main achievement has been to confirm the mutual belief that differences must be resolved short of nuclear confrontation. Yet even that achievement is shaded. In the Mideast war last fall—despite earlier summit agreements to consult and show restraint in crises and to refrain from the threat or use of force—the smell of nuclear confrontation was again in the air. Both sides were subsequently reduced to saying defensively that but for détente it might have been worse.

On can agree and still wonder how détente can be strengthened. Anyone asking the question must concede right off how much events of the past few years have reinforced those elements in both the United States and the Soviet Union that have long been skeptical of the prospects for improved relations. The Kremlin's adventuresome policy in the Mideast in October and its strenuous missile-testing program have stirred and strengthened American anxieties. Washington's own nuclear projects and—only 18 months ago—its bombardment of North Vietnam cannot have failed to have a similar effect in Moscow. The special tension over the link between trade and emigration has sobered both sides.

To label the skeptics "cold warriors," however, is to neglect the substance of their views and their political force. "Each leader has his own constituency at home," Henry Kissinger said as the first summit closed. "Both of us have our Pentagons." Soviet leader Leonid Brezhnev told a recent visitor. This is the principal fact of Soviet-American life and it reinforces the partial inclination already existing in the two summit participants—the two men who have staked their careers on détente—to move slowly, to stick to the old ways of going it alone and relying on power, to avoid political risks.

In fact, there is no alternative to political risk if détente is going to be made more real and firm—"irreversible," as the Russians put it. That it is not yet irreversible, on either side, is evident to both sides. Agreements have been signed on general principles, on controls on strategic arms, on political negotiations, on various aspects of bilateral

cooperation. But even as these agreements and their promise—much of it not yet fulfilled—are celebrated, there has not yet been established a basic trust or what a Soviet commentator calls "a confidence that the understanding reached is indeed firm, will be unconditionally observed, and is an expression of long-term national policy."

Part of the reason lies in the incompatibility of the two nations' traditions, and values, and this fact is unlikely to diminish. Another lies in strategic and political asymmetries which in turn arise from the differences in the composition of the two sides' missile forces and from the differences in the nature of their respective alliances. A third part arises from shortfalls of political leadership. If Mr. Brezhnev speaks for détente in the Kremlin, then he does not always do so with full clarity and vigor. Mr. Nixon has committed himself many times to building a "structure of peace" but some of his policies go the other way. Moreover, it is painfully apparent that his Watergate-weakened political authority has cost détente dearly. His failure to deliver on his trade pledge to Moscow and his felt need to accommodate conservative legislators, who are even warier of détente than he, are conspicuous cases in point.

For all of these considerations it becomes necessary in contemplating the third Nixon-Brezhnev summit to take a modest view of the near prospects, but not to yield to defeatism or despair. So far as we know, the various agreements which are being readied for signing in Moscow do not amount to any great shakes in themselves. But together they can make a useful contribution to keeping together the hard-pressed domestic constituencies for détente in both countries.

Not having seen the prospective agreements, we wish to withhold pronouncing on their individual worth. It is possible, though, in considering any one agreement, to fasten so thoroughly on a "worst-case" analysis of its possible defects as to overlook the political value of making it. By political value, we refer to the need to make progress even in small steps, in order to prevent détente from being undone politically by stalemates on particular issues, such as trade, or by the large leaps in arms building which could come all too soon if the hope or momentum of détente flags.

It could not have been Mr. Nixon's leading goal as he undertook his opening to Moscow two years ago merely to prevent backsliding. But entirely by his own doing, he has lost a substantial part of the great chance he had to round a historic corner in international relations. Détente now is less an immediate possibility than a continuing trust. It is Mr. Nixon's responsibility to hold that trust for the next president.

THE WASHINGTON POST.

Competitive Deflation

The world's industrial nations have agreed to avoid competitive devaluations and trade restrictions as "solutions" to their mounting deficits in oil payments; but they may be heading down a third slippery slope that would prove equally dangerous, the route of "competitive deflation." France's new austerity measures, which normally would be welcomed abroad, must be evaluated in this context.

Accelerated by the fourfold price increase in imported oil, inflation in France is now at an 18 percent annual rate. A \$6.5-billion deficit in the balance of payments is projected for this year. President Valéry Giscard d'Estaing's austerity program—which has lifted the discount rate to an unprecedented 13 percent and includes measures to reduce energy consumption, raise taxes, cut government spending and tighten surveillance over credit—aims at cutting the inflation rate by more than half and eliminating the overseas deficit in 18 months.

The strategy is to slash demand and consumption at home, reduce imports and spur exports, a classic solution to the kind of economic problem France confronts. Unfortunately, other advanced countries, which buy most of France's exports, are experiencing similar problems. Italy and Denmark already have imposed import restrictions, and Rome, seeking added financing abroad for its oil payments deficits, is yielding to pressure from foreign lenders to impose deflationary measures.

Britain's new Labor government battling "slumpflation" and an overseas payments imbalance running at \$10 billion a year, is restraining home demand. Even in West Germany and the United States, which have been least affected by the oil payments problem, high interest rates have slowed consumption, reducing the two biggest markets for the world's exports.

The danger in these spreading national policies of deflation is that together they could set off a world recession. The secret-

ariat of the Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development in Paris notes that the oil price increase itself is, paradoxically, deflationary for the countries importing oil. An extra \$60 billion this year is being siphoned out of these countries, reducing demand there, to pay oil-exporting countries which, in turn, are acquiring \$60 billion of savings.

The need now is for these savings to be transferred into capital investment that creates jobs. But the reverse appears to be happening. Governments in the industrial countries are deflating their economies to improve their foreign trade balances; in the process, they are discouraging investment. Moreover, the vast wealth being accumulated by the Arab states is flowing into the strong economies, such as the United States and West Germany, rather than the weaker countries, such as Italy, where it is more urgently needed. A breathing space for Italy and France has been provided by the decision to permit use of gold reserves at near market prices as collateral for loans. Yet at the present deficit rate, that gold could go fast. A better lending mechanism is needed to recycle petrodollars from strong nations to the weak.

But even that is not enough. New international arrangements are needed to finance the overall oil payments deficit on a long-term basis. By 1980 the cumulative debt of the countries importing oil to those exporting it is expected to amount to hundreds of billions of dollars.

The OECD, the International Monetary Fund and the energy coordinating group set up by the Washington conference in February have talked about this problem without coming to grips with how to solve it or—more important, since there is no lack of technical solution—who is to do it. Until it is solved, it will be every country for itself, seeking like France to reap its payments balance through deflation, adding daily to the danger of a world depression.

THE NEW YORK TIMES.

In the International Edition

Seventy-Five Years Ago

Fifty Years Ago

June 24, 1899.

NEW YORK.—The greatest flood known on the Rio Grande for nearly 40 years has changed the face of nature in an extraordinary fashion. The town of Carrizo, which had a population of 1,200, is completely wiped out and many deaths are reported elsewhere. The river, which forms the boundary between Mexico and the United States, has swept out of its course and transferred many thousands of acres of Mexican territory over to the United States.

June 24, 1924.

BERLIN.—Germany has reluctantly decided to accept the Entente's demand for an inter-allied inquiry into her industrial output, in order to a transfer of military production to the hands of the League of Nations. No restrictions will be attached to the German output, since all other countries were given the same freedom. In the procedure for the inquiry, the German Government will be assisted by the League of Nations and the United States.



Kissinger and the Joint Chiefs

By James Reston

WASHINGTON.—Almost on the eve of the Nixon-Brezhnev summit meeting in Moscow, the Nixon administration is still deeply divided on what kind of arrangements it should make there with the Soviet Union for the control of strategic weapons.

Essentially, the differences between Secretary of State Kissinger, who favors a compromise agreement which will slow down the development of multiple warhead missiles, and the Joint Chiefs of Staff, who fear that the Kissinger compromise, step by step, will leave the United States in a position of strategic inferiority.

It is difficult to write about this highly complicated but critical strategic, technical, and political question, for the remarkable fact is that it has never really been defined publicly with precision by the administration. But the Joint Chiefs of Staff want a deal Kissinger thinks they cannot get in Moscow. And Kissinger is arguing for a partial settlement, which the joint chiefs feel may be worse than no settlement at all.

Warheads

Kissinger's point, as I understand it, is that the critical question is not how many missiles each side has, but how many nuclear warheads are on the missiles.

His argument is that we can make concessions to the Russians on the number of missiles they are allowed, for people are not killed by missiles but by nuclear warheads, and the United States is ahead on the art and science of producing these hydra-headed monsters.

Besides, Kissinger insists, this is a moment in history when there may just be a chance to work out a political accommodation, maybe even a new order in the world, and that the question is not, therefore, merely one of missiles, MIRVs, yield limits, throw-weights—all of which, he agrees, are important—but also a question of politics and even of philosophies.

Men like Adm. Zumwalt, the chief of naval operations, do not reject the political and philosophical argument, or oppose the concept of compromise or détente with the Soviet Union. They simply argue that Kissinger's political and philosophical concept of détente is admirable but risky, because the Soviet Union is not really acting in the spirit of détente, compromise, and world order, but is merely using détente as a tactic or trick to achieve hegemony or domination by talking sweet and acting tough.

Energy's Lesson

For example, Zumwalt, who is a tough and thoughtful man, notes that the Russians have understood the lesson of the energy crisis, namely that the free world can be disrupted by the price of fuel, that the more it has to pay for the gas and oil that drive its industrial machines, the less it has left to finance its military machine.

Therefore, at least for the rest of the 1970s, when Europe, Japan—particularly Japan—and to a lesser extent the United States have to depend on the gas and oil of the Middle East, it is clear that the struggle in that part of the world is vital. Zumwalt says that Adm.

Mahan, the American philosopher of sea power, would have understood what is now happening: There is a new balance of power, the power of energy, of fossil fuels in the Middle East essential to the industrial non-Communist nations, and if the source of this power could be controlled by the Soviet Union, then there would be a new conception of military strategy in the world, for the industrial nations could be blockaded, not along their coasts as in the two World Wars, but far away at the source of the oil in the Middle East.

No Debate

These are serious questions that divide serious men, but the interesting thing about them is that they have not really been argued out. As a matter of fact, some people sitting in on the National Security Council meetings insist that there is really no serious debate.

This is something new. There were similar differences here over the original test-ban treaty with the Soviet Union, but at that time there was a race and honest debate between the State and Defense Departments and the Congress, and finally a consensus was reached.

The first SALT or strategic arms conference with the Soviet Union was less frank. Even now, the joint chiefs feel they were confronted with a deal they really had no time to analyze. What's troubling about the forthcoming summit meeting in Moscow is that on these momentous questions, there has been wholly inadequate preparation, far less than on the test-ban treaty or on SALT-1.

The President has been preoccupied with Watergate. Secretary Kissinger has been in the Middle East for a month. The joint chiefs are in transition from one team to another, and everything has been arranged for Moscow except the policy.

Letters

Power to Simon

The NYT could have done worse before publishing The New York Times editorial on gold (June 18) than to have heeded Cromwell's caution, "I beseech you in the bowels of Christ to think it possible you might be mistaken."

If as the editorial argues, restoration of the U.S. citizen's right to own gold would enhance the country's balance of payments, then it is clear that that balance is now being artificially supported. The dreaded exchange of paper dollars for gold would be nothing more than the prudent man's move to get his hands on a currency whose value will last, and not depreciate as his paper dollars have.

The editorial's argument confuses the causes of inflation with its symptoms. Oil and gold, to take only two conspicuous examples, haven't quadrupled in value in the past two years; rather the relation between them has remained remarkably stable, considering the depletion of the world's oil resources.

But their higher price in terms of dollars only reflects the dollar's diminishing worth. Why exchange inherently valuable goods for the promissory notes of governments that habitually weigh on their prom-

Fortunately, in Kissinger and Secretary of Defense Schlesinger, we have two reflective and intelligent men, who can understand the ambiguities, dangers, and opportunities of the present situation.

But there are so many other problems in Washington that even they seem to cover up their differences. Accordingly the President is going to Moscow with 300 reporters, and a few compromise communiqués already on paper, but without any clear resolution of the differences within his own administration.

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Israel's Gamble in Lebanon

By Rowland Evans and Robert Novak

WASHINGTON.—Contrary to published speculation, the highest officials of the U.S. government were both astounded and outraged by the overthrow of Israel's revenge last week against Palestinian guerrilla bases, endangering fragile peace hopes for the Mideast.

No word was passed to President Nixon, or to any lesser official, during the President's stay in Israel, that the retaliation for guerrilla attacks on isolated Israeli villages would begin as soon as he departed. Rather, the Israeli government gave no hint of savage reprisals.

Anger reached its peak here last Thursday when the raids continued into their third straight day, raising a most disturbing question: Could killing scores of innocent Lebanese civilians and Palestinian refugees, caught helplessly in Israel's bombing of guerrilla bases, sabotage Mr. Nixon's brilliantly successful peace efforts?

The answer: Not yet. Egypt's Anwar Sadat, Syria's Hafez el-Assad and other Arab leaders are so deeply committed to political

settlement and have derived too much benefit from Secretary of State Henry Kissinger's diplomacy since the October war to switch course.

But if Israel continues devastating bombing and shelling in retaliation for absolutely predictable Palestinian border raids in the future, the Nixon peace plan might indeed be sabotaged. No Arab leader could long hold to the goal of political settlement while Arabs were being killed by American-made bombs dropped from American-made Israeli Air Force planes.

Yet, the precarious political condition of Israel's galant new premier, Yitzhak Rabin, all but assures continuation of Israel's policy of dread reprisal—an escalation of the eye-for-an-eye biblical injunction to its modern-day Israeli version of 10 Arabs for one Israeli.

Gen. Rabin, the taciturn soldier-diplomat who last month formed Israel's first government ever composed entirely of native sons, controls only 41 out of parliament's 120 seats. Hence, one defection in his tissue-thin majority could result in a no-confidence vote.

His Reputation

Moreover, in the back benches of his own Labor parliament sit Rabin's enemies, sharpening their political knives against him: Moshe Dayan, the former defense minister and hero of the 1956 and 1967 wars; Abba Eban, the former foreign minister who learned in the newspapers that he had been passed over in Rabin's cabinet selection; to a lesser extent, even Golda Meir herself, bitterly resentful of Rabin's inclusion of her arch-enemy, Mrs. Shulamit

although stemming from an area outside the NATO sphere. Moreover, resentment at what was considered an American failure to deal swiftly and fairly with its allies, produced divisions over how to face the energy crisis that followed.

Distant Regions

Thus, although Kissinger's remarkable diplomacy had been able to cool off crises in distant regions like Southeast and Southwest Asia which he sometimes seemed to "govern" in the Metternich sense, it had, if anything, exacerbated non-crises in West Europe whose importance to the United States is questionable. This situation, typified by the irritable colloquy between Washington and Paris, seemed unusually strange since Kissinger had ceased working for the Kennedy administration more than a decade earlier because he disagreed with its unsympathetic approach to France.

West Europe has now resumed its proper place on U.S. policy programming and has moreover been reassured that sufficient U.S. troops will continue to participate in NATO defense, despite neo-isolationist pressures. And the inescapable problem—how to deal with emergencies outside the North Atlantic Treaty area—has been put back in the icebox.

There has been only one attempt to resolve that problem; and it failed. Sixteen years ago Gen. De Gaulle proposed a three-power directorate—U.S.A., Britain, France—to deal with crises outside NATO. The suggestion was curtly ignored by Washington and London.

Yet the only major threats to the alliance have come from outside: the Korean war, the offshore island dispute with China, the 1956 Anglo-French-Israeli invasion of Egypt; the 1967 and 1973 Arab-Israeli wars, and the Cyprus crisis involving three NATO members, Turkey, Greece and Britain.

Slowly the allies have come to recognize that beyond "consultation" (which cannot be institutionalized) no formal responses to extra-NATO problems can be arranged ahead of time. This flexible approach was in effect reiterated by the Ottawa communiqué which should prepare NATO to face its second quarter century, at least as well as it did the first quarter.

Everyone involved has backed away from a brink eroded by abstract arguments which, in turn, were prompted by needless slogans for a peacetime coalition, once again, the Western alliance has shown a deft ability to scramble out of pits it dug for itself.

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INTERNATIONAL
Herald Tribune
Published with The New York Times and The Washington Post

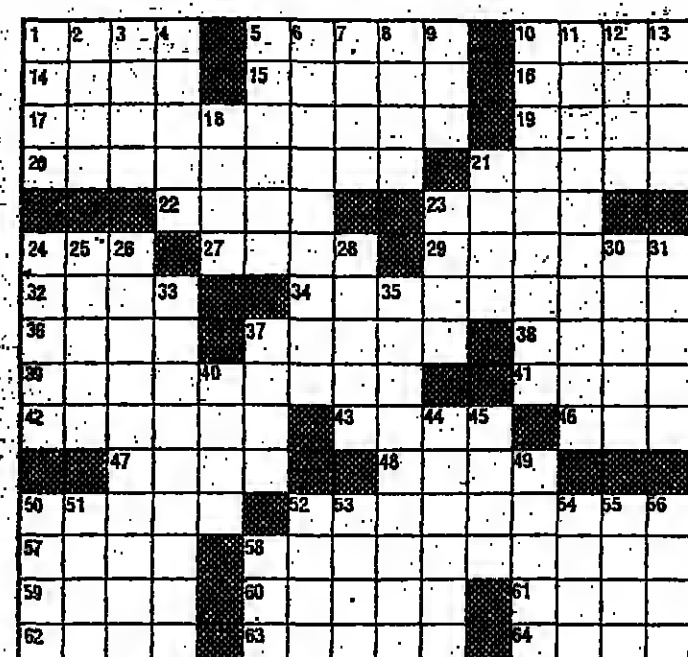
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International Edition: Tribune, Inc. 400 Madison Ave., New York 17, N.Y.
Paris No. 25 Bldg. 12, Rue de Berry, 75008 Paris, France
Tel.: 212-5500. Telex: 24250 Herald. Cable: Herald, New York.
Le Directeur de la publication: Walter A. Reade.
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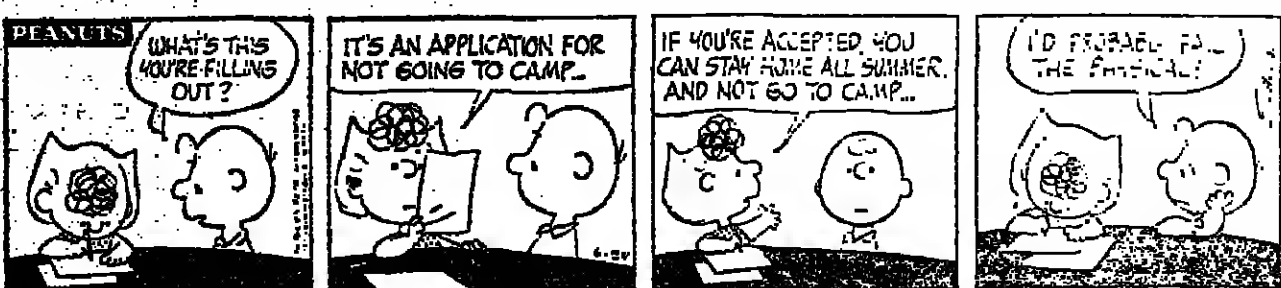
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By Will Wenz

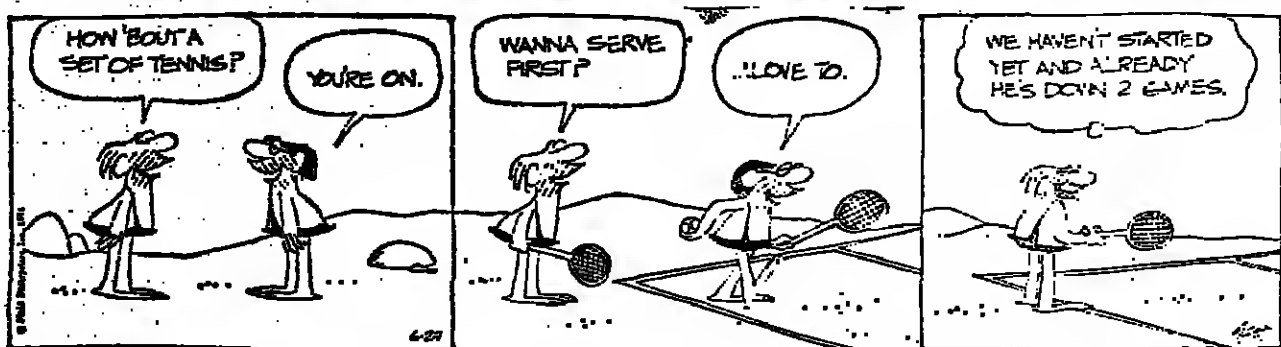
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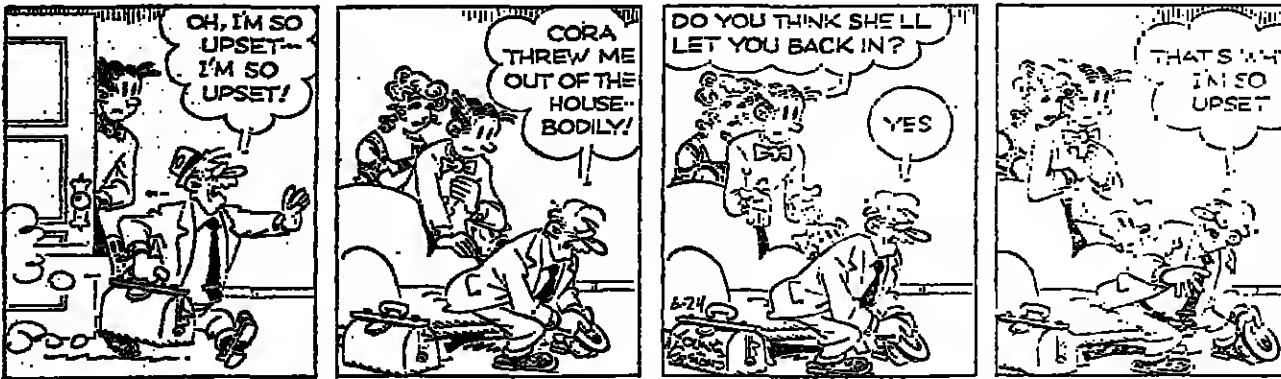
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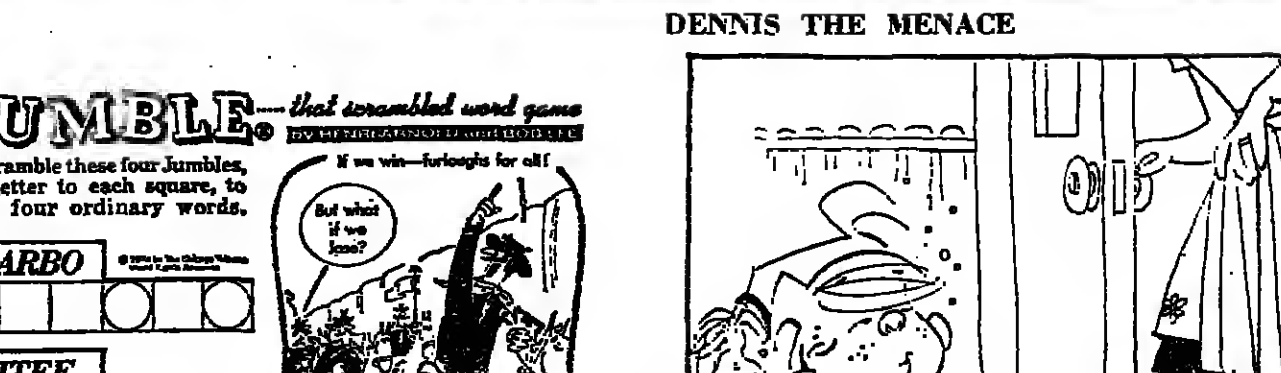
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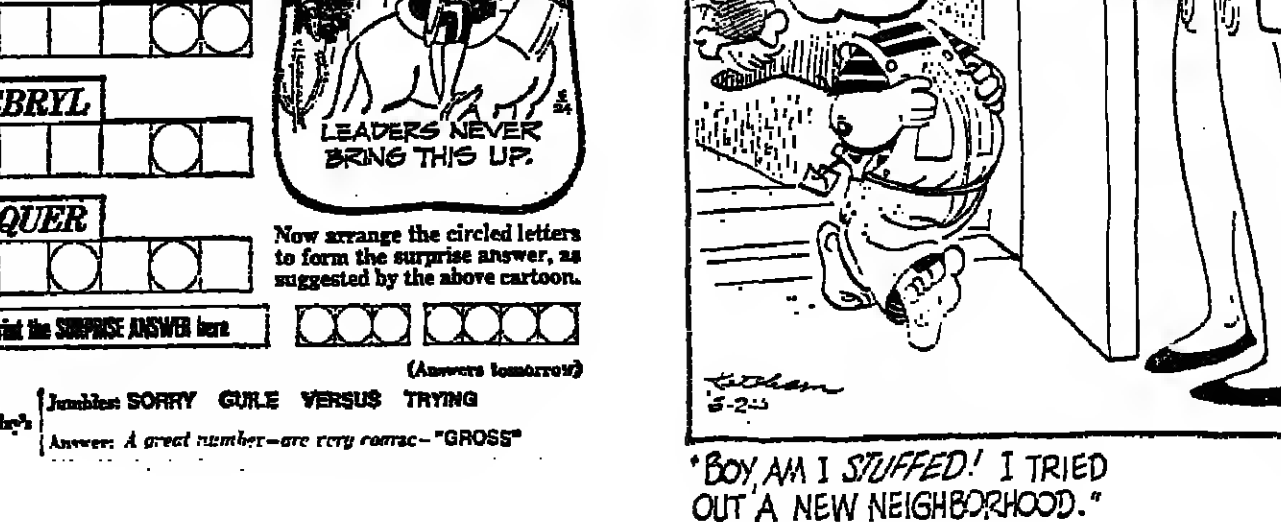
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JUMBLE



BOOKS

THE LAKE

By Yasunari Kawabata. Translated from Japanese by Reiko Tsukimura. Kodansha International Ltd. 136 pp. \$6.95.

Reviewed by Edmund White

JAPANESE tea gardens are seldom large, but many elements in them conspire to give a sense of spaciousness. The steeping stones, for instance, are shaped and placed so as to impede your progress. You are forced to pause for an instant, look up and enjoy a particular view.

The narration of "The Lake," a short novel which the Nobel Prize-winning Kawabata wrote in 1955, is full of similarly artful hesitations. Moments that any other writer would have dropped or speedily summarized are extended and returned to again and again. This curious method of composition is not just a trick but rather the book's way of getting back to the specific moment, the exact play of light, the precise details of a dream or the inexplicable flash of violence that shivers through a lover's romantic daydreams. The original, sensuous, not the falsifying, simplifying recollection of that sensation.

One striking passage of this sort occurs when the hero, Gimpel, is riding in a taxi: "Through the closed window beside him the sky was tinted a bluish color, but in the driver's lowered window the sky seemed a different shade... Since then, whenever he rode in a taxi, he couldn't help being conscious of two worlds: one pale pink and the other pale blue. The things he had seen through his window had probably been tinted blue, and what he had seen through the driver's lowered window had looked pinkish by contrast. That was the simple explanation, but Gimpel was persuaded that the sky, the walls, the roads, and even the trunks of the trees by the roadside were perhaps really this curious, pinkish color." He became accustomed to the idea that the driver's world was a warm pink and the passenger's a cold blue.

In our everyday lives we are submerged up to the eyeballs in just such fanciful theories and in inexplicable ties, yearnings, memories or faint traces of sensuous recall. Language, however, and our traditional modes of writing, force us to lie about what we have felt at any given moment. A tale, any tale, gathers random atoms of experience into coherent, structured molecules of narration. Kawabata doesn't lie, and that is

Circles upon circles of memory, coincidence after coincidence, innocent themes followed by their sinister, scarcely audible overtones and echoes—all the effects Kawabata has achieved function like filters slipped over a light until it acquires the precise psychological hue and density of the present, which, after all, is inevitably colored by the past, by repetition, by accidentals. So present is this book in its hallucinatory descriptions and re-exacted but terrifying dialogue that the reader is surprised, in looking back through its pages, to realize it is not literally written in the present tense.

Its juxtaposed qualities of beauty and terror are condensed into one passage that could easily stand as an emblem of the entire novel: "Gimpel was led by the girl to the front door and, as he stepped out into the night-filled garden, he had a vision of a huge spider's web. Together with other insects, there were two or three white-eyed birds trapped in the web. Lovely white circles stood out on their blue wings and around their eyes. The strands would have snapped if the birds moved their wings, but their wings were folded and the birds were slender prisoners in the web. The spider was in the middle with its back to the white-eyed, perhaps afraid that their beaks would pierce its body if it moved too close to them." "The Lake" is as compact and immense, as natural and contrived, as the ideal tea garden.

Edmund White is author of "Forgetting Elena."

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CHESS

By Robert Byrne

What do you do when your opponent deviates from the book line?

First of all, if you only memorized the variation without understanding it, you're in trouble. Thirty years ago as a young high school player, I assiduously attacked the eighth edition of "Modern Chess Openings" in preparation for a Chess Review postal tournament I had entered. However, even though I had picked out for my first game a variation highly touted by that book, I was shattered by Frank

the fault lay out with the Gruenfeld Defense column judged by the author, Reuben Fine, to be favorable for Black (it is), but with my failure to understand what it was all about. As soon as weibel departed from the main channel, I was all at sea, quickly wrecking my position.

What Happens Now? There is no need to be caught in that kind of catastrophe; no opening should be played without a grasp of its underlying strategic and tactical ideas. These not only enable you to handle the subsequent middle game battle skillfully, but they also yield the basic framework for judging what action to take against your opponent's deviation.

A good example of successful coping was provided in the 10th-round encounter between Miguel Quinteros and Lev Polugaevsky in the Las Palmas International Tournament.

Against Polugaevsky's London system (4...B-B4, before locking the Black king pawns on white squares with 5...B-K3) Quinteros experimented with 11 P-KN4?, aiming for a kingside attack, instead of the standard 11 O-O, with a slow maneuvering game to follow. Polugaevsky accommodated himself to the altered circumstances by his excellent defensive realignment 15...



Position after 20...

N-Q2 and 16...B-B3! which resulted in the exchange of Quinteros's queen bishop. Quinteros could not have gone ahead with 17 BxR, QxR; 18 P-R3 because of the annihilating combination 18...BxR; 19 RxB, QxR!

Back to the Point

Having shaved down two minor pieces by the 17-19, Polugaevsky pressed the thematic counterattack of the London system with 19...P-QB4 and 20...P-B3!, relying on his bishop and knight to converge on the target squares, White's Q3 and QB2.

There was already no defense, because 21 B-B1, PxB; 22 PxB, Q-B2! threats both the KP and 23...N-B7ch, while the alternative 21 P-K4, PxQ; 22 BxP, PxB; 23 PxB, Q-N3! gives Black a holocaust of an attack against the white king imprisoned in the center.

Thus Quinteros had to abandon a pawn with 22 O-O, obtaining king safety at the price of a lost end game. Polugaevsky's 24...N-B7! set up the queen exchange at move 26, denying Quinteros any counterplay.

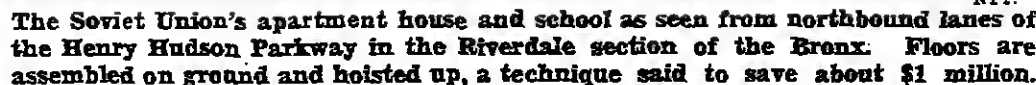
After Polugaevsky's 30...R-Q8ch; there was no point in Quinteros's continuing, for 31 K-N2, B-Q8; 32 R-R2, NxB; 28 BxB; 29 P-QB4; 30 R-Q3; 31 R-Q3ch; 32 R-Q3ch; 33 R-Q3ch; 34 R-Q3ch; 35 R-Q3ch; 36 R-Q3ch; 37 R-Q3ch; 38 R-Q3ch; 39 R-Q3ch; 40 R-Q3ch; 41 R-Q3ch; 42 R-Q3ch; 43 R-Q3ch; 44 R-Q3ch; 45 R-Q3ch; 46 R-Q3ch; 47 R-Q3ch; 48 R-Q3ch; 49 R-Q3ch; 50 R-Q3ch; 51 R-Q3ch; 52 R-Q3ch; 53 R-Q3ch; 54 R-Q3ch; 55 R-Q3ch; 56 R-Q3ch; 57 R-Q3ch; 58 R-Q3ch; 59 R-Q3ch; 60 R-Q3ch; 61 R-Q3ch; 62 R-Q3ch; 63 R-Q3ch; 64 R-Q3ch; 65 R-Q3ch; 66 R-Q3ch; 67 R-Q3ch; 68 R-Q3ch; 69 R-Q3ch; 70 R-Q3ch; 71 R-Q3ch; 72 R-Q3ch; 73 R-Q3ch; 74 R-Q3ch; 75 R-Q3ch; 76 R-Q3ch; 77 R-Q3ch; 78 R-Q3ch; 79 R-Q3ch; 80 R-Q3ch; 81 R-Q3ch; 82 R-Q3ch; 83 R-Q3ch; 84 R-Q3ch; 85 R-Q3ch; 86 R-Q3ch; 87 R-Q3ch; 88 R-Q3ch; 89 R-Q3ch; 90 R-Q3ch; 91 R-Q3ch; 92 R-Q3ch; 93 R-Q3ch; 94 R-Q3ch; 95 R-Q3ch; 96 R-Q3ch; 97 R-Q3ch; 98 R-Q3ch; 99 R-Q3ch; 100 R-Q3ch; 101 R-Q3ch; 102 R-Q3ch; 103 R-Q3ch; 104 R-Q3ch; 105 R-Q3ch; 106 R-Q3ch; 107 R-Q3ch; 108 R-Q3ch; 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781 R-Q3ch; 782 R-Q3ch; 783 R-Q3ch; 784 R-Q3ch; 785 R-Q3ch; 786 R-Q3ch; 787 R-Q3ch; 788 R-Q3ch; 789 R-Q3ch; 790 R-Q3ch; 791 R-Q3ch; 792 R-Q3ch; 793 R-Q3ch; 794 R-Q3ch; 795 R-Q3ch; 796 R-Q3ch; 797 R-Q3ch; 798 R-Q3ch; 799 R-Q3ch; 800 R-Q3ch; 801 R-Q3ch; 802 R-Q3ch; 803 R-Q3ch; 804 R-Q3ch; 805 R-Q3ch; 806 R-Q3ch; 807 R-Q3ch; 808 R-Q3ch; 809 R-Q3ch; 810 R-Q3ch; 811 R-Q3ch; 812 R-Q3ch; 813 R-Q3ch; 814 R-Q3ch; 815 R-Q3ch; 816 R-Q3ch; 817 R-Q3ch; 818 R-Q3ch; 819 R-Q3ch; 820 R-Q3ch; 821 R-Q3ch; 822 R-Q3ch; 823 R-Q3ch; 824 R-Q3ch; 825 R-Q3ch; 826 R-Q3ch; 827 R-Q3ch; 828 R-Q3ch; 829 R-Q3ch; 830 R-Q3ch; 831 R-Q3ch; 832 R-Q3ch; 833 R-Q3ch; 834 R-Q3ch; 835 R-Q3ch; 836 R-Q3ch; 837 R-Q3ch; 838 R-Q3ch; 839 R-Q3ch; 840 R-Q3ch; 841 R-Q3ch; 842 R-Q3ch; 843 R-Q3ch; 844 R-Q3ch; 845 R-Q3ch; 846 R-Q3ch; 847 R-Q3ch; 848 R-Q3ch; 849 R-Q3ch; 850 R-Q3ch; 851 R-Q3ch; 852 R-Q3ch; 853 R-Q3ch; 854 R-Q3ch; 855 R-Q3ch; 856 R-Q3ch; 857 R-Q3ch; 858 R-Q3ch; 859 R-Q3ch; 860 R-Q3ch; 861 R-Q3ch; 862 R-Q3ch; 863 R-Q3ch; 864 R-Q3ch; 865 R-Q3ch; 866 R-Q3ch; 867 R-Q3ch; 868 R-Q3ch; 869 R-Q3ch; 870 R-Q3ch; 871 R-Q3ch; 872 R-Q3ch; 873 R-Q3ch; 874 R-Q3ch; 875 R-Q3ch; 876 R-Q3ch; 877 R-Q3ch; 878 R-Q3ch; 879 R-Q3ch; 880 R-Q3ch; 881 R-Q3ch; 882 R-Q3ch; 883 R-Q3ch; 884 R-Q3ch; 885 R-Q3ch; 886 R-Q3ch; 887 R-Q3ch; 888 R-Q3ch; 889 R-Q3ch; 890 R-Q3ch; 891 R-Q3ch; 892 R-Q3ch; 893 R-Q3ch; 894 R-Q3ch; 895 R

Jerry McGee, who had tied for the lead after 35 holes, limped in with a 74 to join a large group at 210: Ray Floyd, who finished best with McGee at the halfway point, had an even worse round, 75, to finish at 211. With a still larger group of players.

was sentenced to 78 years in jail for parole from Leavenworth in 1907 and 12 strokes of the cane. only two more years.

Russian Home in N.Y. Starts at the Top

Because the work can be dovetailed, Mr. Labie said, the \$5-million job will take 15



gymnasium, stores to be run by a cooperative, a barber shop and a 100-car garage.

It will be the end of the year before the first of 240 families moves to Riverdale from the site—known as Faraday Wood—was originally proposed for a controversial subsidized-housing development that was dropped by the city because of community pressure in 1969.

"I don't know if we'll ever get to the point of exchanging courses in political science, but in 10 years at the high school level, why shouldn't that happen?"

PEOPLE: *Oldest Understudy Ends 'Mousetran' Role*

the house from realtor Colin McGowan after selling his suburban Washington home for about \$330,000—some \$130,000 more than he paid for it.

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